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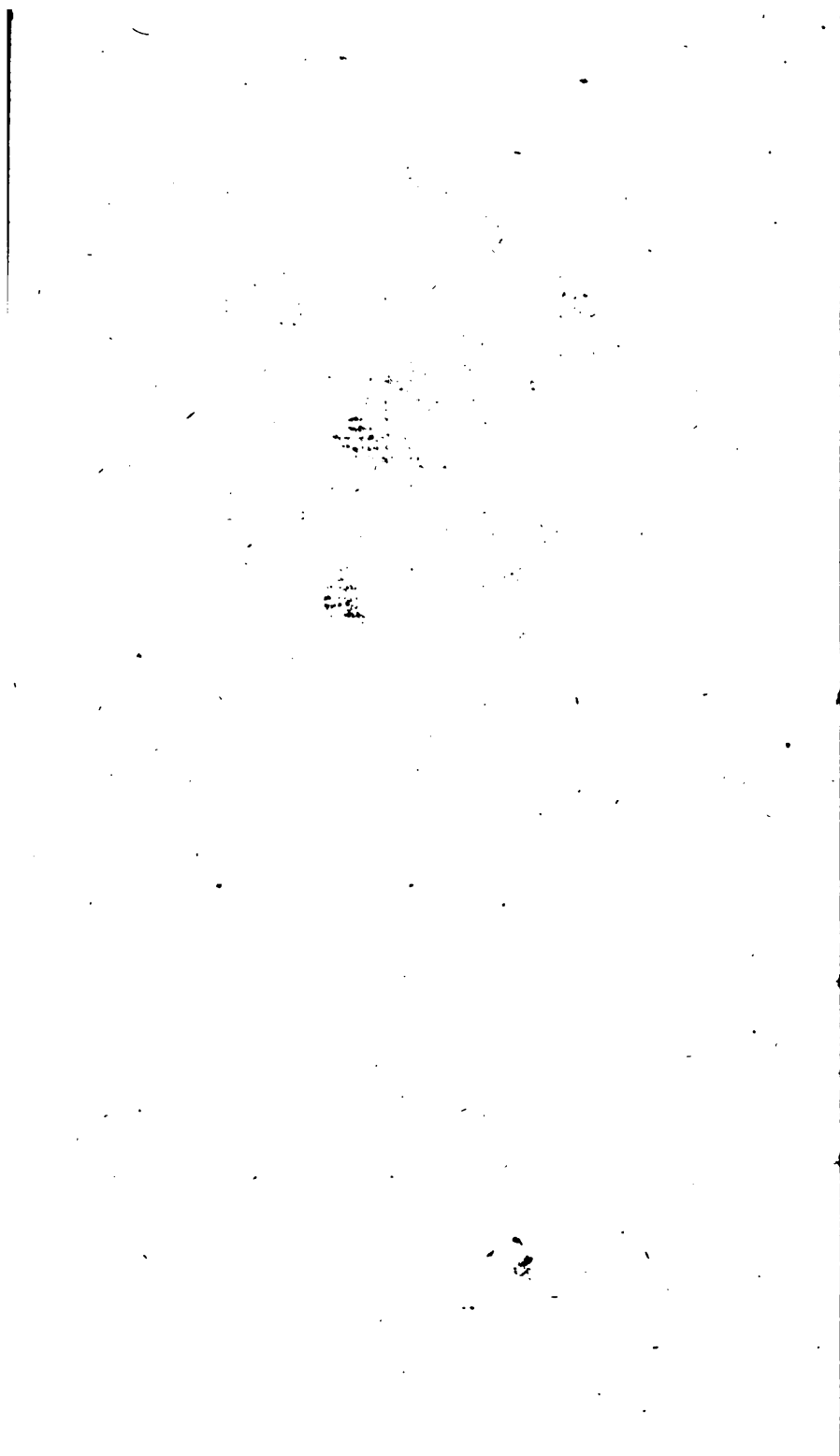
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George Bancroft

Portugal





T H E
POLITICAL REGISTER,
AND
IMPARTIAL REVIEW
OF
N E W B O O K S,
FOR MDCCCLXVIII.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

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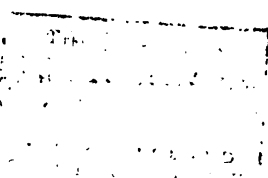
1768.

Mc N



ROY WOOD
JULIAN
VIRGIL

THE
[Illegible text]



[Illegible text]

Harlequin.



*The Man in the Moon, Tragick known
 (Tho' his best part long since was done)
 Still on the Stage desires to tarry;
 And he who play'd the HARLEQUIN,
 After the Jest still loads the Scene,
 Unwilling to retire, tho' weary. — Prior*

T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER.

For JANUARY, 1768.

N U M B E R IX.

To the Editor of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The following is an exact copy of our late treaty of Commerce and Navigation with the court of Russia; and, as it has not as yet been laid before the public, it will, I dare say, be acceptable to your readers.

I am, Sir,

Your Friend, &c. &c.

*Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great-Britain
and Russia.*

Article I. **L**A paix, amitié, & bonne intelligence, qui ont subsisté heureusement jusqu'ici entre leurs majestés de la Grande-Bretagne & de toutes les Russies, seront confirmées & établies par ce Traité; de manière que dès-à-présent, & pour l'avenir, il y aura entre la couronne de la Grande-Bretagne d'un côté, & la couronne de toutes les Russies de l'autre, comme aussi entre les états, païs, royaumes, domaines, & territoires, qui leur obéissent, une paix, amitié, & bonne intelligence, vraie, sincère, ferme, & parfaite, lesquelles dureront pour toujours, & seront observées inviolablement tant par mer que par terre, & sur les eaux douces; & les

B

sujets,

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sujets, peuples & habitants de part & d'autre, de quelque'état ou condition qu'ils puissent être, se traiteront mutuellement avec toute sorte de bienveillance & assistance possible, sans se faire aucun tort ou dommage quelconque.

Art. II. Les sujets des deux Hautes Puissances Contractantes auront parfaite liberté de navigation & de commerce dans tous leurs états situés dans l'Europe, où la navigation & le commerce est permis à présent, ou sera permis à l'avenir, par les Hautes Parties Contractantes, à quelque autre nation.

Art. III. Il est convenu que les sujets des deux Hautes Parties Contractantes puissent entrer, commercer, & demeurer, avec leurs vaisseaux, bâtimens, & voitures, chargés ou vuides, dans tous les ports, places, & villes, où cela est permis aux sujets de quelque autre nation que ce soit ; & les matelots, passagers, & les vaisseaux, tant Britanniques que Russes (quoique parmi leurs équipages, il se trouve des sujets de quelque autre nation étrangère) seront reçus & traités comme la nation la plus favorisée ; & ni les matelots, ni les passagers, ne seront point forcés d'entrer, contre leur volonté, dans le service d'aucune des deux Puissances Contractantes, à l'exception de ceux de leurs sujets dont elles pourroient avoir besoin pour leur propre service, & si un domestique ou matelot déserte son service ou vaisseaux, il sera rendu. Il est accordé pareillement, que les sujets des Hautes Parties Contractantes puissent acheter toute sorte de choses, dont ils pourroient avoir besoin, au prix courant ; racommoder et radoubier leurs vaisseaux, bâtimens, & voitures ; acheter toutes les provisions nécessaires pour leur subsistance ou voyage ; demeurer ou partir à leur bon plaisir, sans molestation ou empêchement, pourvu qu'ils se conforment aux loix et ordonnances des états respectifs des Hautes Parties Contractantes où ils se trouveront : pareillement les vaisseaux Russes, qui se trouveront en mer pour cause de navigation, & qui seront rencontrés par des vaisseaux Anglois, n'en seront point empêchés dans leur navigation, pourvu que dans la mer Britannique ils se conforment à l'usage ; mais on leur donnera toute sorte d'assistance, tant dans les ports de la domination de la Grande-Bretagne, qu'en pleine mer.

Art. IV. Il est convenu, que les sujets de la Grande-Bretagne puissent apporter, par eau ou par terre, dans toutes, ou dans telles provinces de la Russie que ce soit, où il est permis aux sujets de quelque autre nation de commercer, toutes sortes de marchandises ou d'effets, dont le commerce ou l'entrée n'est pas défendue ; & pareillement que les sujets de la Russie puissent apporter, acheter, & vendre librement, dans tous,

ou

ou dans tels états de la Grande-Bretagne que ce soit, où il est permis aux sujets de quelque autre nation de commercer, toute sorte de marchandises & d'effets, dont le commerce & l'entrée n'est pas défenduë ; ce qui s'entend également des manufactures, & des productions des provinces Asiatiques, pourvû que cela ne soit pas défendu actuellement par quelque Loi à-présent en force dans la Grande-Bretagne, toute sorte de marchandises, et d'effets, que les sujets de quelque autre nation y peuvent acheter & transporter ailleurs, particulièrement de l'or & de l'argent travaillé, excepté l'argent monnoïé de la Grande-Bretagne ; et pour conserver une juste égalité entre les marchands Russes & Britanniques, par rapport à la sortie des denrées & marchandises, il est encore stipulé, que les sujets de la Russie paieront les mêmes droits de sortie, que payent les marchands Britanniques, sur les mêmes effets, en les transportant hors des ports de la Russie ; mais alors chaque Haute Partie Contractante se réserve pour elle la liberté de faire, dans l'intérieur de ses états, tel arrangement particulier qu' elle trouvera bon, pour encourager & étendre, sa propre navigation. Les marchands Russes jouiront des mêmes libertés & privilèges dont jouissent les marchands Britanniques de la compagnie de Russie ; & puisqu' que le dessein des deux Hautes Parties Contractantes, & le but de ce traité, tendent à faciliter le commerce réciproque de leurs sujets, & à en étendre les bornes & les avantages mutuels, il est convenu que les marchands Britanniques commerçants dans les états de la Russie auront la liberté, en cas de mort, d'un besoin extraordinaire, ou d'une nécessité absolue, lorsqu'il ne reste aucun autre moïen d'avoir de l'argent, ou en cas de banqueroute, de disposer de leurs effets, soit en marchandises Russes ou étrangères, de la manière que les personnes intéressées le trouveront le plus avantageux. La même chose s'observera à l'égard des marchands Russes dans les états de la Grande-Bretagne. Tout ceci s'entend avec cette restriction, que toute permission, de part & d'autre, spécifiée dans cet article, ne soit en rien contraire aux loix du païs, & que les marchands Britanniques, aussi bien que les marchands Russes, & leurs commis, se conforment, des deux côtés, ponctuellement aux droits, statûts, & ordonnances du païs où ils commerceront, pour obvier à toute sorte de fraudes & de prétextes. C'est-pourquoi le jugement des dits cas arrivant aux comptoirs Britanniques en Russie, dépendra à St. Petersbourg du college de commerce, & dans les autres villes, où il n'y a point de college de commerce, des Tribunaux qui connoissent les affaires de commerce.

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Art. V. Il est convenu que les sujets de la Grande-Bretagne, s'ils n'ont point de rixdolars pour paier les douanes, ou autres droits, pour les marchandises qu'ils ont fait entrer ou sortir, pourront paier en autre monnoie étrangère d'un titre connu & accrédité dans le public, égal aux rixdolars, ou en monnoie courante de Russie, le rixdoler évalué à cent-vingt-cinq copekes.

Art. VI. Toute assistance & dépêche possible seront données pour la charge, & la décharge des vaisseaux, ainsi que pour l'entrée & la sortie de leurs marchandises, selon les réglemens faits à ce sujet, & ils ne seront en aucune manière retenus, sous les peines énoncées dans les dits réglemens. Pareillement si les sujets de la Grande-Bretagne font des contrats avec quelque chancellerie ou college que ce soit, pour livrer certaines marchandises ou effets, sur la déclaration que ces marchandises sont prêtes à être livrées, & après qu'elles auront été livrées actuellement dans le terme marqué dans ces contrats, elles seront reçues, & tout-de-suite les comptes seront réglés & liquidés entre le dit college ou chancellerie & les marchands Britanniques, dans le tems qui aura été fixé dans les mêmes contrats. C'est de la même façon qu'on en agira dans les états de la Grande-Bretagne à l'égard des marchands Russes.

Art. VII. Il est convenu que les sujets de la Grande-Bretagne puissent dans toutes les villes & places de la Russie, où il est permis à quelqu'autre nation de commercer, paier les marchandises achetées en la même monnoie courante de Russie, qu'ils ont pris pour leurs marchandises vendues, à moins que dans leurs contrats ils n'aient stipulé le contraire; ce qui doit s'entendre également des marchandises Russes dans les états de la Grande-Bretagne.

Art. VIII. Dans les endroits où les embarquemens se font ordinairement, il sera permis aux sujets des Hautes Parties Contractantes de charger sur leurs vaisseaux ou voitures, & de transporter, par eau & par terre, toutes sortes de marchandises qu'ils auront achetées, (à l'exception de celles dont la sortie est défendue) en payant la douane, pourvu que ces vaisseaux & voitures se conforment aux loix.

Art. IX. Les sujets des Hautes Parties Contractantes ne paieront pas plus de droits pour l'entrée & la sortie de leurs marchandises que n'en paient les sujets des autres nations. Néanmoins, pour prévenir, des deux côtés, les défraudations de la douane; si l'on venoit à découvrir des marchandises qu'on aura fait entrer clandestinement, & sans paier la douane, elles seront confisquées; mais, à cela près, on n'infligera

fligera point d'autres châtimens aux marchands des deux côtés.

Art. X. Il sera permis aux sujets des deux Hautes Parties Contractantes, d'aller, venir, & commercer librement, dans les états avec lesquels l'une ou l'autre de ces Parties, se trouvera présentement, ou à l'avenir, en guerre ; bien entendu qu'ils ne portent point de munitions à l'ennemi. On en excepte, néanmoins, les places actuellement bloquées, ou assiégées, tant par mer que par terre ; mais en tout autre tems, & à l'exception de munitions de guerre, les susdits sujets pourront transporter dans ces places toute autre sorte de marchandises, ainsi que de passagers, sans le moindre empêchement. Quant à la visite des vaisseaux marchands, les vaisseaux de guerre & les armateurs se comporteront aussi favorablement que la raison de guerre pour lors existante pourra jamais le permettre, vis-à-vis des puissances les plus amies qui resteront neutres, en observant, le plus qu'il sera possible, les principes & les règles du droit des gens généralement reconnus.

Art. XI. Tous les canons, mortiers, armes à feu, pistolets, bombes, grenades, boulets, bales, fusils, pierres à feu, mèches, poudre, salpêtre, soufre, cuirasses, piques, épées, ceinturons, poches à cartouche, selles & brides, au-delà de la quantité qui peut être nécessaire pour l'usage du vaisseau, ou au-delà de celle que doit avoir chaque homme servant sur le vaisseau & passager, seront réputés provisions ou munitions de guerre ; & s'il s'en trouve, ils seront confisqués, selon les loix, comme contrebande, ou effets prohibés : mais ni les vaisseaux, ni les passagers, ni les autres marchandises qui se trouveront en même tems, ne seront point détenus, ni empêchés de continuer leur voyage.

Art. XII. Si, ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise, la paix venoit à se rompre entre les deux Hautes Parties Contractantes, les personnes, les vaisseaux, & les marchandises, ne seront pas détenus ni confisqués ; mais il leur sera accordé, pour le moins, le terme d'un an, pour vendre disposer ou emporter leurs effets, & se retirer où bon leur semblera ; ce qui doit s'entendre également de tous ceux qui se trouveront au service de mer & de terre ; & il leur sera permis encore, qu'avant ou à leur départ ils pourront configner les effets dont ils n'auront pas disposé, aussi bien que les dettes qu'ils auront à prétendre, à telles personnes qu'ils jugeront à-propos, pour en disposer à leur volonté & profit ; lesquelles dettes les débiteurs seront obligés de paier, de-même que si la rupture n'avoit pas eu lieu.

Art.

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Art. XIII. En cas de naufrage arrivé dans un endroit, appartenant à l'une ou à l'autre des Hautes Parties Contractantes, non seulement il sera donné toute forte d'affistance aux malheureux, & il ne leur sera fait aucune violence ; mais encore les effets qu'ils auront jetté du vaisseau dans la mer, ne leur feront point celés ni retenus ou endommagés sous quelque prétexte que ce soit : bien au contraire les susdits effets & marchandises leur seront conservés & rendus, en donnant une récompense modique à ceux qui auront aidé à sauver leur personnes, leurs vaisseaux, & leurs effets.

Art. XIV. Il sera permis aux marchands Britanniques de bâtir, acheter, vendre & louer, des maisons dans tous les états & villes de la Russie, exceptant seulement quant à la permission de bâtir & d'acheter des maisons dans les villes de la domination Russe qui ont des droits de Bourgeoisie particuliers, & des privilèges à ce contraires ; & il est nommément spécifié qu' à St. Peterbourg, Moscov, & Archangel, les maisons que les marchands Britanniques auront achetées ou faites bâtir seront exemptes de tout logement, aussi longtems qu'elles leur appartiendront, & qu'ils y logeront eux-mêmes ; mais pour les maisons qu'ils donneront ou prendront à louer, elles seront sujettes à toutes les charges de ville, le locataire & le propriétaire s'accordant entr'eux à ce sujet. Pour ce qui est de toute autre ville de Russie, les maisons qu'ils acheteront ou feront bâtir, de-meme que celles qu'ils prendront ou donneront à louer, ne seront point exemptes de logement. Il est pareillement permis aux marchands Russes de bâtir, acheter, vendre & louer des maisons dans la Grande-Bretagne & en Irlande, & d'en disposer de la même manière que font les sujets des nations les plus favorisées. Ils auront le libre exercice de la religion Grecque dans leurs maisons, ou dans les endroits destinés à cet effet ; de même les marchands Britanniques auront le libre exercice de la religion Protestante. Les sujets de l'une & de l'autre puissance, établis en Russie, ou dans la Grande-Bretagne, pourront disposer de leurs biens, & les laisser par testament à qui ils jugeront à propos suivant la coutume & les loix de leur propre pays.

Art. XV. On accordera des passeports à tous les sujets Britanniques qui ont envie de quitter les états de Russie deux mois après qu'ils auront avertis du dessein qu'ils ont de partir, sans obliger à donner caution ; & si dans ce tems il ne paroît aucune juste cause pour les retenir, on les laissera aller, & ils ne seront pas obligés de s'adresser pour cela ailleurs qu'au college de commerce, ou à celui qui pourroit dorenavant

dorenavant être établi à sa place. La même facilité sera accordée, en pareille occasion, suivant l'usage du pays, aux marchands Russes qui voudront quitter les états de la Grande-Bretagne.

Art. XVI. Les marchands Britanniques, qui loueront, ou tiendront des domestiques, seront obligés de se conformer, à ce sujet, aux loix de cet empire. Ce que les marchands Russes seront également obligés de faire dans la Grande-Bretagne.

Art. XVII. Dans tous les procès & autres affaires, les marchands Britanniques ne seront justiciables que du seul college de commerce, ou de celui qui sera établi à l'avenir pour l'administration de la justice entre les marchands : s'il arrivoit cependant, que les marchands Britanniques eussent des procès en quelques villes éloignées du susdit college de commerce, tant eux que leurs parties, porteront leurs plaintes au magistrat des dites villes, bien entendu que les marchands Britanniques auront le droit d'appeller de la sentence du magistrat, & de réclamer celle du college de commerce, s'ils se trouvent lésés. Les marchands Russes qui se trouvent dans les états de la Grande-Bretagne auront réciproquement la même protection & justice, selon les loix de ce royaume, qu'y ont les autres marchands étrangers, & seront traités comme les sujets de la nation la plus favorisée.

Art. XVIII. Les marchands Britanniques qui se trouvent en Russie, & les marchands Russes que se trouvent dans la Grande-Bretagne, ne seront pas obligés de montrer leurs livres ou papiers à qui que ce soit, si ce n'est pour faire preuve dans les cours de justice ; encore moins les dits livres ou papiers ne leur seront pris ou retenus. Si le cas arrivoit cependant, que quelque marchand Britannique fit banqueroute, il sera justiciable, à St. Petersburg, du college de commerce, ou de celui qui sera établi à l'avenir pour l'administration de la justice dans les affaires de négoce, & dans les autres villes éloignées, du magistrat de la ville, & il sera procédé à son égard selon les loix qui sont, ou seront, faites à ce sujet. Cependant si les marchands Britanniques, sans faire banqueroute, refusoient de paier leurs dettes soit aux caisses de sa Majesté Impériale, soit aux particuliers, il sera permis de mettre l'arrêt sur une partie de leurs effets, équivalente à leurs dettes ; & au cas que ces effets n'y fussent pas, ils pourront être arrêtés eux-mêmes, & retenus jusqu'à ce que la majeure partie de leurs créanciers, tant à l'égard du nombre que de la valeur de leurs demandes respectives, consente à les élargir. Quant à leurs effets sur lesquels on aura mis l'arrêt,

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L'arrêt, ils resteront en dépôt entre les mains de ceux qui seront nommés & dûement autorisés pour cet effet, par le plus grand nombre des créanciers, comme ci-dessus spécifié ; lesquels substitués seront obligés d'apprécier les effets le plutôt possible, & d'en faire une distribution juste & équitable à tous les créanciers, à proportion de leurs demandes respectives. La même procédure sera suivie, en pareil cas, à l'égard des marchands Russes dans les états de la Grande-Bretagne, & ils y seront protégés comme il est réglé dans l'article précédent.

Art. XIX. En cas de plaintes & de procès, trois personnes de bonne réputation & sans reproche, d'entre les marchands étrangers, seront, à l'égard aux circonstances, nommées par le college de commerce, & là où il n'y en a point, par le magistrat, pour examiner les livres & papiers des plaideurs ; & le rapport qu'elles auront donné au college de commerce, ou au magistrat, de ce qu'ils auront trouvé dans les dits livres & papiers, sera tenu pour une bonne preuve.

Art. XX. Les douanes auront soin d'examiner les domestiques ou les commis des marchands Russes, lorsqu'ils font enrégistrer les marchés, s'ils ont pour cela les ordres ou pleins-pouvoirs de leurs maîtres ; & s'ils n'en n'ont pas, ils ne seront point crûs. On procédera de la même manière avec les domestiques des marchands Britanniques ; & lorsque les dits domestiques, aiant des ordres ou pleins-pouvoirs de leurs maîtres, auront fait enrégistrer les marchandises pour le compte de leurs maîtres, ceux-ci en seront responsables, tout comme s'ils les avoient fait enrégistrer eux-mêmes. Tous les domestiques Russes employés dans les boutiques, seront enrégistrés pareillement, & leurs maîtres répondront pour eux dans les affaires de négoce, & dans les marchés qu'ils auront faits en leur nom.

Art. XXI. En cas que les marchands Russes, qui doivent aux marchands Britanniques, se retirent des lieux de leur demeure, en d'autres endroits ou districts, le college de commerce, après que les plaintes lui en auront été faites, & les preuves de ces dettes données, les citera trois fois, en leur accordant un terme suffisant pour comparoître en personne ; & s'ils le laissent passer sans comparoître, le dit college les condamnera, & enverra, au fraix du demandeur, un exprès aux gouverneurs & aux woivodes, avec ordre de mettre la sentence en exécution, & obligera ainsi les débiteurs à payer les sommes déclarées.

Art. XXII. Le brock sera établi avec justice, & les brokers seront responsables pour la qualité des marchandises, & les

& les emballages frauduleux, & tenus, après des preuves suffisantes contre eux, de paier les pertes qu'ils ont causées.

Art. XXIII. On fera un réglemant pour prévenir les abus qui peuvent se faire dans les emballages des cuirs, du chanvre, & du lin ; & s'il arrive quelque dispute entre l'acheteur et le vendeur, sur les poids ou la tare de quelques marchandises, la doüane la décidera selon l'équité.

Art. XXIV. Pour une plus grande facilité & encouragement au commerce de la Grande-Bretagne, il est accordé qu'à l'avenir les étoffes de laine d'Angleterre ci-après spécifiées, ne paieront pas plus de droit d'entrée, que ce qui est spécifié dans cet article ; savoir : le drap d'Angleterre pour soldat ne paiera que deux copekes en rixdoler l'archiné de droit d'entrée ; le gros drap du comté d'York, connu dans le Tarif Rusien par le nom de costrogy, ne paiera que deux copekes en rixdoler l'archine de droit d'entrée ; la flanelle large ne paiera qu'un copeke en rixdoler l'archine de droit d'entrée ; la flanelle étroite ne paiera que trois-quarts de copeke en rixdoler l'archine de droit d'entrée. Et en tout ce qui regarde les impôts & les droits payables pour l'entrée & la sortie des marchandises en général, les sujets de la Grande-Bretagne seront toujours considérés & traités comme la nation la plus favorisée.

Art. XXV. La paix, amitié, & bonne intelligence, durera pour toujours entre les Hautes Parties Contractantes ; & comme il est de coutume de fixer un certain tems aux traités de commerce, les susdites Hautes Parties Contractantes sont convenues, que celui-ci durera vingt ans, à compter du jour de la signature ; après l'écoulement de ce terme, elles pourront s'accorder pour le renouveler & le prolonger.

Art. XXVI. Le présent traité de navigation, & de commerce, sera approuvé & ratifié par sa Majesté Britannique, & sa Majesté Impériale, & les ratifications, en bonne & dûe forme, seront échangées, à St. Peterbourg, dans l'espace de trois mois, ou plutôt, si faire se peut, à compter du jour de la signature.

En foi de quoi nous sousignés, en vertu de pleins-pouvoirs qui nous ont été donnés par sa Majesté, le Roy de la Grande-Bretagne, & par sa Majesté Imperiale de toutes les Russies, avons signé le présent traité, & y avons fait apposer les cachets de nos armes.

Fait à St. Peterbourg, ce 20me Juin, 1766.

GEORGE MACARTNEY, (L. S.) NIKITA PANIN, (L. S.)
(L. S.) ERNEST, COMTE DE MUNICH.
(L. S.) PR. A. GALITZIN.
(L. S.) GR. TEPLOFF.

TRANSLATION.

Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great-Britain and Russia.

Article I. **T**HE peace, friendship, and good understanding which have hitherto happily subsisted between their majesties of Great-Britain and of all the Russias, shall be ratified and confirmed by this treaty; so that from this time forward, and in all time coming, there shall be, between the crown of Great-Britain on the one hand, and the crown of all the Russias on the other; as also between the states, countries, kingdoms, dominions, and territories, that are subject to them, a true, sincere, firm, and perfect peace, friendship, and good understanding, which shall last for ever, and shall be inviolably observed, as well by sea as by land, and on the fresh waters; and the subjects, people, and inhabitants on the one part and on the other, of what state or condition soever they be, shall perform to each other all acts of kindness and assistance possible, and shall not do to one another any hurt or injury whatever.

Art. II. The subjects of the two High Contracting Powers shall have full liberty of navigation and commerce in all the states situated in Europe, where navigation and commerce are permitted at present, or shall be permitted hereafter, by the High Contracting Parties, to any other nation.

Art. III. It is agreed, that the subjects of the two High Contracting Parties shall have leave to enter, trade, and remain with their ships, boats, and carriages, loaded or unloaded, in all the ports, places and towns; where such leave is granted to the subjects of any other nation; and the sailors, passengers and ships, as well British as Russian (tho' there should be among their crews subjects of some other foreign nation) shall be received and treated as the most favoured nation; and neither the sailors nor passengers shall be forced to enter, against their will, into the service of either of the two contracting powers, excepting, however, such of their subjects as they may want for their own proper service; and if a domestic or sailor desert his service or his ship, he shall be restored. It is likewise agreed, that the subjects of the High Contracting Parties shall have leave to purchase, at the current price, all sorts of commodities, of which they may stand in need; to repair and refit their ships, boats, and carriages; to purchase all kinds of provisions for
their

their present subsistence or their voyage ; and to remain or depart, at their pleasure, without lett or impediment, provided they conform to the laws and ordinances of the respective states of the High Contracting Parties where they may happen to be. In like manner the Russian ships that are navigating the sea, and are met by English ships, shall not be impeded in the course of their voyage, provided, in the British sea, they conform to the established practice ; but, on the contrary, shall receive from them all kind of assistance, as well in the ports of the dominion of Great-Britain, as in the open sea.

Art. IV. It is agreed, that the subjects of Great-Britain shall be at liberty to bring, by water or by land, into all or into such provinces of Russia, where freedom of trade is permitted to the subjects of any other nation, all sorts of merchandize or effects, the traffic or entry of which is not prohibited : and in like manner the subjects of Russia shall be at liberty to bring, buy, and sell freely, in all, or in such states of Great-Britain where freedom of trade is permitted to the subjects of any other nation, all sorts of merchandize and effects, the traffic and entry of which is not prohibited ; which is also to be equally understood of the manufactures and products of the Asiatic provinces, provided this is not actually forbid by some law at present in force in Great-Britain ; comprehending all sorts of merchandize and effects, which the subjects of any other nation may buy there, and transport into other countries, particularly wrought gold and silver, excepting the current coin of Great-Britain : and in order to preserve a just equality between the Russian and British merchants, with regard to the exportation of provisions and other commodities, it is further stipulated, that the subjects of Russia shall pay the same duties on exportation, that are paid by the British merchants on exporting the same effects from the ports of Russia ; but then each of the High Contracting Parties shall reserve to itself the liberty of making, in the interior parts of its dominions, such particular arrangements as it shall find expedient for encouraging and extending its own navigation. The Russian merchants shall enjoy the same liberties and privileges as the British merchants of the Russian company enjoy ; and, as the design of the two High Contracting Parties, and the intention of this treaty, is to facilitate the reciprocal commerce of their subjects, and to extend its limits and mutual advantages, it is agreed, that the British merchants, trading in the dominions of Russia, shall have liberty, in case of death, a pressing exigency, or

absolute necessity, when there are no other means of procuring money, or in case of a bankruptcy, to dispose of their effects, whether of Russian or foreign merchandize, in such manner as the persons concerned shall find most advantageous. The same thing shall be observed with regard to the Russian merchants in the dominions of Great-Britain. All which, however, is to be understood with this restriction, that every sort of permission, on the one side and on the other, specified in this article, shall not be in any thing contrary to the laws of the country; and the British, as well as the Russian, merchants, and their factors, shall punctually conform to the rights, statutes, and ordinances of the country where they trade, in order to prevent all kind of fraud and imposition. 'Tis for this reason, that the decision of such events happening to the British compting-houses in Russia, shall be submitted, at Petersburg, to the college of commerce, and in other towns where there is no college of commerce, to the tribunals that have the cognizance of commercial affairs.

Art. V. It is agreed, that the subjects of Great-Britain, if they have no rixdollars to pay the customs or other duties for the merchandize which they import or export, shall be allowed to pay them in other foreign coin of a known name and established value, equal to that of the rixdollar, or in the current coin of Russia, the rixdollar valued at a hundred and twenty-five copecks (or pennies).

Art. VI. All possible assistance and dispatch shall be given to the loading and unloading of ships, as well for the importation as the exportation of commodities, according to the regulations on that head established; and they shall not be in any manner detained, under the penalties denounced in the said regulations. In like manner, if the subjects of Great-Britain make contracts with any chancery or college whatever to deliver certain commodities or effects, upon notifying that such commodities are ready to be delivered, and after they shall have been actually delivered at the time specified in these contracts, they shall be received, and immediately thereupon the accounts shall be settled and cleared between the said college or chancery and the British merchants, at the time fixed in the said contracts. The same conduct shall be observed towards the Russian merchants in the dominions of Great-Britain.

Art. VII. It is agreed, that the subjects of Great-Britain may, in all the towns and places of Russia, where freedom of trade is permitted to any other nation, pay for the commodities they purchase in the same current coin of Russia, which they take

take for the commodities they sell, unless in their contracts they have stipulated the contrary; and this ought to be equally understood of Russian commodities in the dominions of Great-Britain.

Art. VIII. In the places where embarkations are ordinarily made, permission shall be granted to the subjects of the High Contracting Parties, to load their ships and carriages with, and transport by water or by land, all such sorts of commodities as they shall have purchased, (with an exception, however, of those whose exportation is prohibited) upon paying the customs, provided these ships and carriages conform to the laws.

Art. IX. The subjects of the High Contracting Parties shall pay no greater duty for the importation or exportation of their commodities, than is paid by the subjects of other nations. Nevertheless, to prevent on both sides the defrauding of the customs, if it should be discovered that commodities have been entered clandestinely, and without paying the customs, they shall be confiscated; but, besides that, no other punishment shall be inflicted upon the merchants on either side.

Art. X. Permission shall be granted to the subjects of the two contracting parties to go, come, and trade freely with those states, with which one or other of the parties shall at that time, or at any future period, be engaged in war, provided they do not carry military stores to the enemy. From this permission, however, are excepted places actually blocked up, or besieged, as well by sea as by land; but, at all other times, and with the single exception of military stores, the abovesaid subjects may transport to these places all sorts of commodities, as well as passengers, without the least impediment. With regard to the searching of merchant-ships, men of war and privateers shall behave as favourably as the reason of the war, at that time existing, can possibly permit towards the most friendly powers that shall remain neuter; observing, as far as may be, the principles and maxims of the law of nations, that are generally acknowledged.

Art. XI. All canon, mortars, muskets, pistols, bombs, grenades, bullets, balls, fuses, flint-stones, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, breast-plates, pikes, swords, belts, cartouch-bags, saddles and bridles, beyond the quantity that may be necessary for the use of the ship; or beyond what every man serving on board the ship, and every passenger ought to have, shall be accounted ammunition or military stores; and, if found, shall be confiscated, according to law, as contraband goods or prohibited commodities; but neither the ships
nor

14 *Treaty between Great-Britain and Russia.*

nor passengers, nor the other commodities found at the same time, shall be detained, or hindered to prosecute their voyage.

Art. XII. If, what God forbid! the peace should come to be broke between the two High Contracting Parties, the persons, ships, and commodities, shall not be detained or confiscated; but they shall be allowed, at least, the space of one year, to sell, dispose, or carry off their effects, and to retire wherever they please; a stipulation that is to be equally understood of all those who shall be in the sea or land service: and they shall farther be permitted, either at or before their departure, to consign the effects which they shall not as yet have disposed of, as well as the debts that shall be due to them, to such persons as they shall think proper, in order to dispose of them according to their desire, and for their benefit; which debts, the debtors shall be obliged to pay in the same manner as if no such rupture had happened.

Art. XIII. In case of a shipwreck happening in any place belonging to one or other of the High Contracting Parties, not only shall all kind of assistance be given to the unhappy sufferers, and no sort of violence shall be offered to them; but even the effects which they shall have saved themselves, or which they shall have thrown overboard into the sea, shall not be concealed, with-held, or damaged, under any pretext whatsoever: on the contrary, the abovesaid effects and commodities shall be preserved and restored to them, upon their giving a moderate recompence to those who shall have assisted them in saving their lives, their ships, and their commodities.

Art. XIV. Permission shall be granted to British merchants to build, buy, sell, and hire houses in all the territories and towns of Russia, excepting, however, with regard to the permission of building and buying houses in those towns of Russia, which have particular rights of burghership and privileges inconsistent with such indulgence; and it is expressly specified, that at St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Archangel, the houses which the British merchants shall buy, or cause to be built, shall be exempt from all quartering of soldiers, as long as they shall belong to them, and shall be inhabited by them; but, with regard to the houses which they shall hire or let, these shall be subject to all the usual charges of the town; the tenant and landlord settling that matter between them. As to every other town of Russia, the houses which they shall purchase, or cause to be built, in the same manner as those which they shall hire or let, shall not be exempted from the quartering of soldiers. Permission shall likewise be granted to Russian merchants to build, buy, sell, and let houses in Great-Britain

and

and Ireland in the same manner as is done by the subjects of the most favoured nations. They shall enjoy the free exercise of the Greek religion in their houses, or in such places as are destined for that purpose; and in like manner the British merchants shall enjoy the free exercise of the Protestant religion. The subjects of either power, established in Russia or in Great-Britain, shall have power to dispose of their estates, and to leave them by will to whomsoever they think proper, following the custom and laws of their own proper country.

Art. XV. Passports shall be granted to all British subjects, who desire to quit the dominions of Russia, two months after they shall have signified their design of departing, without obliging them to give security; and if, in that time, there appear no just cause for detaining them, they shall be allowed to go; nor shall they be obliged to apply for that purpose, to any other quarter than to the college of commerce, or to that which may hereafter be established in its place. The same easy methods of departing shall, upon like occasions, and agreeable to the custom of the country, be granted to Russian merchants, who want to quit the dominions of Great-Britain.

Art. XVI. British merchants, who shall hire or employ domestics, shall, in this particular, be obliged to conform themselves to the laws of this empire. And Russian merchants shall be equally obliged to do the same in Great-Britain.

Art. XVII. In all law-suits and other proceedings, the British merchants shall be amenable only to the college of commerce, or to that which shall hereafter be established for the administration of justice between merchants. But, if it should happen that the British merchants should have law-suits in any place at a distance from the abovementioned college of commerce, both they and the adverse party shall prefer their complaints to the magistrate of the said towns, with this proviso, however, that the British merchants shall have the right to appeal from the sentence of the magistrate, and to demand that of the college of commerce, if they find themselves aggrieved. The Russian merchants in the dominions of Great-Britain, shall, in their turn, have the same protection and justice, which, according to the laws of that kingdom, are granted to other foreign merchants, and shall be treated as the subjects of the most favoured nation.

Art. XVIII. The British merchants in Russia, and the Russian merchants in Great-Britain, shall not be obliged to shew their books or papers to any person whatever, unless it
be

be to make proof in the course of justice; still less shall the said books or papers be taken or detained from them. If, however, the case should happen, that any British merchant becomes bankrupt, he shall be amenable at St. Petersburg to the college of commerce, or to that which shall hereafter be established for the administration of justice in mercantile affairs, and in other remote towns, to the magistrate of the place; and he shall be proceeded against, according to the laws that are or shall be made for this purpose. Nevertheless, if the British merchants, without becoming bankrupt, refuse to pay their debts, whether to the treasury of her Imperial Majesty, or to individuals, it shall be lawful to lay an arrest upon part of their effects equivalent to their debts; and, in case these effects should not be sufficient for discharging such debts, they may themselves be arrested and detained in custody, until such time as the greater part of their creditors, as well with respect to number, as to the value of their respective demands, have consented to their enlargement. With regard to their effects laid under arrest, they shall remain as a deposit in the hands of those who shall be named and duly authorised for that purpose, by the greater part of their creditors, as is above specified: which delegates shall be obliged to appraise the effects as soon as possible, and to make a just and fair distribution of them to all the creditors, in proportion to their respective demands. The same procedure shall, in the like cases, be observed towards the Russian merchants, in the dominions of Great-Britain, and they shall be there protected agreeably to the regulations made in the preceding article.

Art. XIX. In case of complaints and law-suits, three persons of fair and unblemished character, among the foreign merchants, shall, with a proper regard to circumstances, be named by the college of commerce, and where there is no such college, by the magistrate, to examine the books and papers of the parties; and the report they shall make to the college of commerce, or to the magistrate, of what they shall find in the said books or papers, shall be held a good proof.

Art. XX. The commissioners of the customs shall have the charge of examining the servants or clerks of the Russian merchants, when they cause their goods to be entered, whether they have, for that effect, the orders or full powers of the masters; and if they have not such, they shall not be credited. The same conduct shall be observed towards the servants of the British merchants; and, when the said ser-

vants,

vants, having the orders or full powers of their masters, shall cause their goods to be entered on account of their masters, these last shall be as responsible as if they themselves had caused them to be entered. All the Russian servants employed in the shops shall likewise be registered, and their masters shall answer for them in the affairs of trade, and in the bargains which they make in their name.

Art. XXI. In case the Russian merchants, who are indebted to the British merchants, withdraw from the places of their abode to other parts or districts, the college of commerce, after complaints shall have been made to them on the subject, and proofs of the debts have been adduced, shall cite them three times, allowing them a sufficient space, to appear in person; and if they do not appear within the term prescribed, the said college shall condemn them, and shall send, at the expence of the plaintiff, an express to the governors and waywodes, with orders to put the sentence in execution, and thus shall oblige the debtors to pay the sums specified.

Art. XXII. The brokerage shall be settled with justice; and the brokers shall be responsible for the quality of the goods and fraudulent package, and shall be obliged, after sufficient proofs produced against them, to make up the losses to which they have given occasion.

Art. XXIII. A regulation shall be made to prevent the abuses that may be committed in the package of leather, hemp, and flax; and, if any dispute happen between the buyer and the seller, concerning the weight or the tare, the commissigners of the customs shall determine it according to equity.

Art. XXIV. In order the more effectually to encourage and promote the trade of Great-Britain, it is agreed, that for the future, the English woollen cloths, hereafter specified, shall not pay any greater duties on entry, than are settled in this article; viz. English cloth for the use of the soldiery, shall pay (in rixdollars) only two *copecs* (or pennies) for every arsheen (or $71\frac{1}{2}$ yards) as a duty on entry; coarse cloth of the county of York, known in the Russian Tariff by the name of *Costrogy*, shall only pay two *copecs* for every arsheen; broad flannel shall only pay one *copec* per arsheen; narrow flannel shall only pay three-fourths of a *copec* per arsheen, all as duties on entry. And in every thing that regards the imposts and duties payable on the importation or exportation of commodities in general, the subjects of Great-Britain shall be always considered and treated as the most favoured nation.

Art. XXV. The peace, friendship, and good understanding shall continue for ever between the High Contracting Parties; and, as it is customary to fix a certain term to the duration of

18 *Protest of the Lords in the Irish Parliament.*

treaties of commerce, the above-mentioned High Contracting Parties have agreed, that this treaty shall continue for twenty years, counting from the day of signing; and, after the expiration of that term, they may agree upon the means to renew and prolong it.

Art. XXVI. The present treaty of navigation and commerce shall be approved and ratified by his Britannic Majesty, and by her Imperial Majesty; and the ratifications, in due and lawful form, shall be exchanged at St. Petersburg, in the space of three months, or sooner if possible, counting from the day of signing.

In witness whereof, we the under-signed, in virtue of the full powers granted to us by his Majesty the King of Great-Britain, and by her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, have signed the present treaty, and thereto set our seals.

Done at St. Petersburg, this 20th day of June, 1766.

GEORGE MACARTNEY, (L. S.) NIKITA PANIN, (L. S.)
(L. S.) ERNEST, COUNT MUNICH.
(L. S.) PR. A. GALITZIN.
(L. S.) GR. TEPLOFF.

TO THE EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

Dublin, Dec. 4, 1767.

Among the several points of debate, which have lately occupied the attention of our parliament, has been one concerning the want of a lord-chancellor of this kingdom. A few days since, an address to his Majesty was moved in the house of lords, by Lord Mountmorres, desiring his Majesty would be graciously pleased to appoint a lord-chancellor of Ireland; but, after much debate, a negative was put upon the question: however, that there might remain upon record a proper memento of this transaction, a spirited protest was entered, of which the following is a true copy.

Dissentient.

BECAUSE we conceive, that on the present occasion, when delay is the grievance of which we complain, the previous question is peculiarly improper, as it is merely a measure of procrastination.

That delay, in an affair of this nature, may be attended with the worst consequences, we conceive, because the execution of the office of lord-high-chancellor by commission, is a defective execution of it, inasmuch as the commission being executed by the common law-judges of the land, two at a time, taken each from different courts in a weekly rotation, is attended with the following inconveniences: First, that though the inferior judges were always of equal eminence with one who should be appointed chancellor in his own person, yet, they are not only not conversant with the practice

practice of the court of chancery, but habituated to a different practice. Secondly, that they cannot fulfil the duties of another court, but by relinquishing their own. Thirdly, that taking away one judge from a court, is, in some circumstances, an irreparable loss; that, at best, but two can remain; that causes of the greatest importance will be deferred till the bench is full; that even in such causes as are heard by the two judges that remain, if there be a difference of opinion, there is not a third to decide; and, that sickness, or connexion with certain causes, may leave the court with but one judge, and sometimes without any. Fourthly, that long and important causes in chancery can seldom be decided in a week, and therefore the arguments urged in one week, before one set of commissioners, must be repeated before another set in a subsequent week; that, by this endless protraction and expence, persons are discouraged from proceeding, and the more as the commissioners cannot be expected to be very ready to decide, inasmuch as reputation is more easily lost, than gained in such circumstances; and as the cause would probably be but little advanced by their decision, since the party defeated would always apply to the chancellor, when appointed, for a re-hearing. Fifthly, that these inconveniencies are aggravated by the state of business in that court, at the time of the late chancellor's death, whose great abilities had drawn such a redundancy of business into that court, that, notwithstanding his assiduity, a long arrear of causes, we understand, remained undischarged. That, therefore, the execution of the office of lord-high-chancellor by commission, is attended with this great evil, that without supplying, to effect, the court of chancery, it dismembers and mutilates all the courts of law, and disturbs and obstructs the whole course of justice.

Because, from a thorough confidence in his Majesty's most gracious disposition toward his most affectionate people, so peculiarly manifested by the declarations made to us, in his name, by his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, from the throne, at the opening of this session of parliament, we are convinced that his Majesty would lend a favourable ear to our earnest solicitations, and would gratify the desires of his loyal people, by appointing a lord-chancellor for this kingdom; nor can we think it otherwise than a just tribute of our respect to his Majesty, and the best mark of our firm reliance on his gracious declarations, to inform his Majesty, without delay, of a grievance which so essentially affects the rights and properties of his most faithful subjects, and the due execution of justice in this kingdom.

TYRONE, CHARLEMONT, MOUNTMORRES.
D 2 To

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER,

S I R,

Dublin, Dec. 13, 1767.

Since the publication of your former number of the Political Register, wherein you inserted (see vol. I. page 412) a List of the Absentees of Ireland, there has been published AN APPENDIX to that list, which I send you, in order that your copy may be as complete as that which has been printed here. I am, Sir, your humble servant, &c.

Appendix to the List of Absentees of Ireland, &c.

SINCE the publication of the former List, several gentlemen have been pleased to furnish the editor with the names of several persons who were omitted, and I make no doubt several more may still be added on a farther enquiry *: but as the list even already exhibited, is abundantly sufficient to support the arguments made use of, I think it unnecessary to say more, than barely to set forth the additions.

To the first class,

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Lord Bingley	3500	0	0	S. Campbell, Esq;	2000	0	0
Lord Dacre ———	3000	0	0	Jof. Cain, Esq;	700	0	0
Heirs of L. Fane	5000	0	0	—— Carr, Esq;	1000	0	0
Sir Geo. Saville	1000	0	0	Mrs. Howard Grey-			
Lady Echlin ———	800	0	0	stock ———	1000	0	0
Sir Wm Rowley	3000	0	0	—— Herberd, Esq;	1500	0	0
Colonel Shirley	2000	0	0	—— Worthing-			
Arthur Barry	1600	0	0	ton, Esq; ———	1200	0	0
John Taaf, Esq;	800	0	0	—— Alexander, Esq;	800	0	0
—— Murray, of				—— Hamilton, Esq;			
Broughton ———	3000	0	0	of Killileagh ———	800	0	0
Colonel Sabine	600	0	0	—— Aston Esq;	600	0	0
Mr. Palmer ———	600	0	0	Colonel Graham	1000	0	0
—— Jollybear, Esq;	800	0	0	—— Sloan, Esq;	6000	0	0
Coheireses of Rath-				—— Bridges, Esq;	1500	0	0
cormick estate	1200	0	0	—— Hamilton, Esq;			
Ed. Southwell, Esq;	5000	0	0	Co. Longford ———	800	0	0

50,800 0 0

* The Editor of the Political Register cannot omit mentioning that some mistakes in the list of absentees, besides those which are corrected in this Appendix, have been noticed by different gentlemen in England; but as the List and Appendix are professedly given from the edition printed in Dublin, he did not think himself at liberty to alter the copy.

Additions

Appendix to the List of Absentees of Ireland. 21

Additions to the second class.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Earl of Clanbrassil	3000	0	0	— Minchin, Esq;	1500	0	0
— Barrymore	8000	0	0	Pier. Burton, Esq;	2000	0	0
— Massareene	4000	0	0	Lady St. Leger	600	0	0
Ld. Gormanstown	2000	0	0	Dr. Delany, dean			
Sir Henry Echlin	800	0	0	of Downe	1800	0	0
Ric. Ponsonby, Esq;	1200	0	0				
					24,900	0	0

Additions to the third class.

Several persons names have been furnished as an addition to this class, but whose names I forbear mentioning, for the reasons before set forth (vol. I. page 414); the annual income of whose estates amount at least to the sum of £. 15000 0 0

Additions to the persons possessed of employments and offices.

Dr. Delany, dean of Down	1000	0	0
Dr. Jebb	800	0	0
Robert Wood, Esq; master of music	500	0	0
	2300	0	0

And in this class strike out the name of Dr. Traile, bishop of Down, who has not been out of the kingdom since he was made a bishop.

Also in the list of peers who have no estates in Ireland, strike out Lord Fortescue, being an English peer; for Lord Fortescue of Ireland is mentioned in the first class, and rate his estate at 3000 l. instead of 1200 l. a year.

Total sums in the above additions.

To the first class	50,300	0	0
Second class	24,900	0	0
Third class	15,000	0	0
Employments and Offices	23,000	0	0
Total	93,000	0	0

By the former general abstract of the quantity of money drawn out of the kingdom

1,069,382 14 6

Total 1,162,283 14 6

End of the Appendix.

THE Commons of Ireland apprehended the state of the Absentees to be so great a grievance to their country, that the committee of ways and means, on the 28th of November, 1767, came to the following resolution:

“ That a tax of four shillings in the pound be laid on all Salaries, Profits of Employments, Fees, and Pensions, payable to persons who shall not actually reside six calendar months in each year in this kingdom; excepting such pensions

22 *Appendix to the List of Absentees of Ireland.*

pensions as are payable to any of the descendants of his Majesty's Royal Grandfather; and, except the chief governor and his secretary, and except officers commanded abroad, all officers under the degree of a field-officer, the half-pay officers on this establishment, and the widows of officers."

And to prevent as "effectually as possible any obstruction to their design in this step," they added the above resolution, by way of clause, to the Money-bill. In that state it was sent to England. The m——, after taking the usual opinions (which were for reserving to the C—— certain powers of granting leave of absence) sent it back without the smallest alteration; *not thinking themselves authorised by any modern precedent to reject it.*

TO THE EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

December 24, 1767.

You have doubtless heard the report of an intended augmentation of three thousand men to the military establishment of Ireland; the following paper is an exact copy of the plan of such augmentation, which you may depend upon is authentic, and in the manner that it is to be laid before the House of Commons of Ireland in January next.

I am, your humble servant.

Proposal for putting the Infantry of these kingdoms upon the same establishment, without any additional expence to Great-Britain.

N E A R half the regiments of infantry are in foreign stations; the keeping them in perfect order becomes, therefore, a consideration of a very serious nature. Wisdom, as well as humanity, suggests the propriety of a regular rotation, lest the nature of the service, and difficulty of recruiting whilst abroad, should entirely annihilate those brave corps, that must ever, in the annals of the late successful war, do honour to their country, before a regular plan of rotation can be established.

It is necessary to examine into the present establishment of the forces in Britain. After the reduction that followed the peace, they consisted of seventeen thousand five hundred and thirty-five men, including two thousand seven hundred and forty-three invalids; of the latter 1772 are intended to be reduced. But, as the continual demand for troops from the civil magistrates plainly shew, that fewer than what were voted at the peace cannot suffice, the most eligible method of making up this deficiency will be taking three regiments from Ireland, and continuing eight of the companies of invalids, that have been proposed to the reduced, for performing the many garrison duties;

Authentic Proposal for augmenting the Army. 23

duties; reducing the whole infantry from 529 to 484 per company, and bringing the regiment of infantry from the Isle of Man, where two or three companies of invalids may do duty. This would be a reduction of expence, as a regiment is furnished there to a certain degree; and a regiment in America might be paid by Ireland, in lieu of this, to make up their six regiments upon foreign service.

The peace-establishment of Britain will then be,

	Officers and men included.
2 troops of horse-guards	} ————— 714
2 troops of horse grenadier-guards	
The royal regiment of horse-guards	————— 319
3 regiments of dragoon-guards	————— 847
8 regiments of dragoons	————— 1848
2 regiments of light-dragoons	————— 462
3 regiments of foot-guards	————— 3765
17 regiments of foot	————— 8228
Invalids	————— 1387
	17,530

All accounts agree, that Ireland would willingly keep about twelve thousand men in that kingdom, besides the six regiments in foreign stations, provided they should be free from paying any additional regiments that may hereafter be sent abroad. If one quarter-master, nine serjeants, nine corporals, nine drums, two fifers, and one hundred and twenty-six private men, were added to each regiment, they then would be of the same establishment as what is proposed in Britain; their numbers would be as follows.

(The proposed new establishment, with the augmentation.)

	Officers and men included,
4 regiments of horse	————— 664
6 regiments of dragoons	————— 1149
2 regiments of light dragoons	————— 354
21 regiments of infantry	————— 10164
6 regiments in foreign service	————— 2904

15,235 †

† By this plan, there will always be 12,331 of his Majesty's land-forces in Ireland; whereas, at present, there are not 5000. But to this increase of troops may be objected the very great addition it gives to the power of the crown; and this question will naturally arise, "Could not the safety of Ireland be provided for, without such increase of the peace establishment?"

The

24 *Authentic Proposal for augmenting the Army.*

The regiments in America ought to have an addition of serjeants, corporals, and drums, and a small reduction of private men to make them on the same footing as those proposed for Britain and Ireland.

13 regiments in America, will amount to	9197
4 regiments at Minorca - -	1936
4 regiments at Gibraltar - -	1936

The two regiments in the West-Indies, two of those at Minorca, and two of those at Gibraltar, as above-stated, are intended to be paid by Ireland in foreign stations: thus the infantry will be, in every part of the British territories, on the same establishment. In the spring, three regiments ought to be carried from England to Cork; after landing them, five Irish regiments ought to be embarked on board those transports for foreign stations, and bring the relieved regiments to Britain. Two regiments should go from Port Patrick to Ireland.

Recapitulation.

In Britain,	Squadrons, Battalions,		Officers and men included.
Horse,	7	—	1033
Dragoon Guards,	7	—	807
Dragoons,	16	—	1846
Light-dragoons,	6	—	462
Foot-guards,	—	7	3765
Foot,	—	17	8228
Invalids,	—	—	1287
In Ireland,			
Horse,	8	—	664
Dragoons,	13	—	1149
Light-dragoons,	6	—	354
Foot,	—	21	10164
Foot, in foreign stations }	—	6	2904
In America,	—	19	9197
At Minorca,	—	4	1936
At Gibraltar,	—	4	1936
In Africa, three companies. }	—	—	213
Totals	63	78	46,047

For

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

PERHAPS there never was a time when thinking men were more called upon than they are at present, to consider the situation of this country with regard to America. We may, to be sure, if we please, shut our eyes against every information which we receive from thence, of the spirit which prevails in those parts; we may, in spite of their most unanimous resolutions destructive to the commerce of Great-Britain, still flatter ourselves that they are a willing, acquiescing, submissive, and obedient people; we may say, to ourselves, peace! peace! when there is no peace: and, God grant! that, when we awake from this fatal lethargy, we do not find our colonies estranged and cut off from us. The trouble I am now giving you is occasioned by some publications in the Boston Gazette, containing positions and insinuations of a most dangerous and alarming tendency. How far the writers of them are punishable by law, it is not my province to determine; sure I am that the words ought not to be printed, without branding the doctrines they convey with that degree of just indignation and reproach, which the perusal of them must suggest to every friend to Great-Britain. How far it may be prudent, in the present situation of the colonies, to stretch out the hand of justice against the authors of these dangerous writings, it is not my business to inquire. Nor am I uncharitable enough to suppose, that the sentiments contained in them are abetted and adopted by the respectable parts of our colonies; but the less they are abetted at present, the more strongly are the magistracy there called upon to punish such violations of law and decency, which may in time produce a ferment almost impossible to be quelled. Divines often recommend it to us to study controversy, in order to fortify ourselves in sound faith; in this view, even these papers, scandalous as they are, may not unusefully be read, not to raise aversion in us to our colonies, the major part of whom are represented as abhorring the positions, but, *to set us on our guard against admitting any of these principles to influence us in our opinions with regard to men and things in America.* And therefore, Sir, I beg not to cite these writings for approbation, but expressly to condemn them, and to expose them to the detestation of every true-born Englishman.

BOSTON GAZETTE, Monday, Aug. 31, 1767.

Messieurs EDES and GILL,

I Have this moment received the shocking account of a B—ll having passed the H—e of C—s for the suspension of the legislative authority of New-York, at which my blood is chilled, and creeps cold through my stiffened veins. To what, alas! is America reduced? This land, for which our fathers fought and bled, must now become the den of slavery; those liberties, civil and religious, (for the enjoyment of which they left a populous and plentiful country, and fled to this then uncultivated wilderness) must now be left to their degenerate posterity, who, unhappily, possess no spark of that heavenly fire which glowed in their venerable bosoms. O think, ye apostate sons of parents now in Heaven, think, with what anger and contempt your glorious progenitors look down on you their dastard offspring, and echo to the just decree of God, that cowards and the base-souled sycophants who have not courage to avow their rights, should bear the sharply-galling yoke of servitude. Come, ye devoted slaves, to tyranny, ye, who so fondly search to find your chains, come sacrifice your dearest privilege upon the cruel shrine of your adored Moloch—And make a merit of delivering voluntarily that power which (used with freedom) will soon by force be taken from you. Dismiss your council from the board, and let your insignificant house of representatives be totally and everlastingly abolished; no longer attempt to preserve the shadow of liberty, when the substance (I mean the power of disposing of your own property) is fled to a distant country; when your legislature is to be arraigned, nay, annihilated, for refusing a blind obedience to those who do not, and cannot, know any thing of your circumstances.

But pardon, my worthy countrymen, this despairing exclamation! Reason resumes her seat, and reflection begins to remove the false mirror which surprise presented to my affrighted imagination. The hateful band of traitors to their country, which my disturbed fancy multiplied into a formidable host, now dwindles to a despicable handful. There are more than seven times seven thousand who never have, and, though threatened with death and tortures, never will, bow to that cursed Baal, arbitrary power. No, you have been long cherished in the delightful arms of freedom; you have long reposed upon her enchanting bosom; and you cannot—though wading through seas of blood, though stunned with the awful roar of cannon, you will not forget this charming mistress of your souls; you will, with a fortitude and resolution which

which nothing can withstand, defend your Liberties and maintain your Rights.—You, who have children hanging round whilst you read this, as I have whilst I write it, will, with me, resolve, that they shall never curse their parents for refusing to exert themselves in support of those rights which God and Nature have committed to their care. If it is not in our power to avert the impending misery, it is in my power, and every man's power (be his station ever so low) to use the talents of which he is possessed, in such a manner as shall justify him in the eye of heaven, his own conscience, the present and succeeding generations. The tongue, the pen, and every other weapon, were formed to be employed when justice and our country call for them. But, happily for you, my countrymen, it is not necessary to sail to the delightful coast of Liberty through seas of hostile blood; there is a short, a safe, a legal, and an honourable passage. Strip off the gaudy ensigns of dependence; let unstained virtue and unblemished honesty be all your ornaments, and shield yourselves, from the inclemency of the weather, with the kind coverings which America affords; and let the inhabitants of G—— B—— know, that those who wear the livery of this country, can freely part with the gay trappings of a butterfly. We scorn to buy, when we are deprived of the ability to pay. Let us immediately put a stop to the importation of all English goods; and, as none but those who wish our destruction, can oppose, let all who refuse to comply be looked upon as our enemies. I call upon every person to use his influence to encourage this resolution, and I shall despise the man who betrays insensibility, by appearing unconcerned in this matter. It may be said, that New-York only is affected in the present case. Be not deceived: If the p——t of G—— B—— can suspend the legislative authority of New-York, the legislature here is a poor contemptible air-castle. Our strength consists in union. Let us cultivate it: let us resolve to be free, and Heaven will guard us. Let us pray that his Majesty, and the House of Lords, may be inspired with wisdom to refuse their assent to any act which shall bring confusion into the British empire: and, above all, let us be of one heart and one mind. May every man remember the following words of a celebrated poet,

*When flames your neighbour's dwelling seize,
With instant rage your own shall blaze;
Then haste to stop the spreading fire,
Which, if neglected, rises higher.*

Yours,

SUI IMPERATOR.

E 2

Messieurs

Messieurs EDES and GILL,
Please to insert the following, and you will oblige yours,

A. F.

BY the last post from New-York, we learn the H—e of B C—s have passed a B—ll for suspending the legislative authority of that province, until they comply with the Billenting Act; or, in other words, they have taken away their legislative authority, because N— Y— would not give it up themselves, and, by complying with that act, acknowledge the P——t had a right to legislate for them. What the event of this step will be, I know not: but this I am sure of, nothing can more affect the Liberty of the Colonies than such a step, but a compliance with the a—t itself. If our legislative authority can be suspended, whenever we refuse obedience to laws we never consented to, we may as well send home our representatives, and acknowledge ourselves slaves; for a parliament can be of no use to a people who are subject to laws they do not make. It is but an illusion without any benefit, an *ignis fatuus*, which may seduce us to our ruin. The people in this province will, I doubt not, look on this measure in the same light they would, were they the objects of it; for nothing is more certain, than, as free colonies, we must rise and fall together. In the late troubles, for want of experience, many faults, and some gross errors, were committed, from which I hope we have gained knowledge. Tumult and disorder should be carefully avoided, especially as we have lawful and laudable means in our hands of obtaining redress, which must speedily and effectually relieve us, if we will but act as becomes Americans, with one voice and one mind—Let us unanimously agree to confine our imports from E——d and S——d to such articles as are absolutely necessary to carry on our fisheries, and provide us against the inclemency of the seasons, and we have nothing to fear. The efficacy of this expedient we have once before experienced, and it will certainly operate for our relief again; for nothing pleads more persuasively than interest with a trading nation. By this measure we shall avoid every thing blame-worthy, introduce a spirit of frugality, enrich ourselves, convince our enemies of our resolution and wisdom—and, in the end, certainly bring about that redress we all desire, and which every good subject ultimately aims at. I cannot think so hardly of Americans as to imagine there can be any difficulty in effecting such a measure; but should there be found among us some who are so lost to all sense of liberty, and

so

so depraved, as to suffer their private interest to come in competition with the public, I am persuaded the number will be so small, that shame and contempt may bring them to a just sense of their duty; without having recourse to the passion of fear.—Let us rise then with one voice, and declare, like true Englishmen, we abhor slavery, and such as would enslave; we love Liberty, and her friends; and that we will encourage the one, and depress the other, by all justifiable means in our power.—Let us call upon our sister-colonies to join with us in so glorious a work; let no man think his influence too small to assist in it; but let every one use his best endeavours to render it universal. Then shall we obtain our wishes, and put to shame our enemies, who would gladly see us run into mad disorder and wild confusion at this critical juncture.—Let us pursue steadily this point, without giving heed to their promises or threats, which are designed to lead us into error, and in the end destroy us. Though the press, that sure and grand support of Liberty and Right, should be *threatened with the summary proceedings of the Star-Chamber*, and our righteous opposition to slavery be called rebellion, yet will a true Englishman pursue his duty with firmness, and leave the event to Heaven.

•• The letter from a succeeding Boston Gazette shall be in our next.

TO the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

A S several great and material changes have been made in the administration of government since the publication of your last number, and as your readers will doubtless expect some account of them, I will give you what I believe may be depended upon: but, to state the apparent motives for these changes, it will be necessary to take a slight retrospect of the occurrences of the last four months. It is plain, from both the event and the nature of the summer-negotiation with the Marquis of R. (of which see an account, together with the conferences at Newcastle-house, in your first volume, page 201) that the Ministry did not then think themselves strong enough to stand the ensuing winter; and the death of Mr Townshend, which happened soon after the failure of that negotiation, rendered them still weaker. By powerful solicitation a successor to Mr Townshend's place was obtained; but the want of his abilities was severely felt by the surviving Ministers; and it was obvious, that they could not go on with the public business without receiving some assistance from the Opposition. The Marquis of R. they had twice entreated without effect; Mr. G. they dreaded: they confessed

felled his abilities, but were afraid to put their own inferiority into the same scale. What then must they do? Or to whom should they apply? They took no steps; but, like people who had given themselves up to despair, they trusted to *chance*, which has wrought more in their favour than any of their most sanguine friends durst have wished, or could have expected: for, upon the meeting of p——, it was evident, from what passed the first day, that the several gr^t parts of the Opposition were so far from being united, that there was a strong diversity of opinion amongst them: upon this the Minister threw out the offer of a treaty to a select number of the friends of the D. of B. These accepted the proposal; but, as it regarded only a few, a declaration was made to the other respectable persons, who had acted with, and adhered to, that interest with uncorrupted fidelity; “*That it was hoped their acceptance of the offer which had been made to them, would not be considered as a breach of the good faith that had subsisted between them.*” (See again your first volume, page 466, where there is also an ingenious comment on this extraordinary declaration.)

A subdivision of one of the parts of opposition being thus effected, a negotiation for terms of acceptance was openly set on foot; and, by the twenty-second day of December 1767, the following arrangements were agreed upon:

Earl Gower, lord-president of the council, in the room of the Earl of Northington, who retires upon a pension of 4000*l.* *per annum.*

Earl of Hillsborough, secretary of state for the American colonies.---*A new office.*

Viscount Weymouth, secretary of state for the northern department, in the room of Mr. Conway.

Mr. Conway to have the first military vacancy worth his acceptance.

Earl of Sandwich, joint post-master, in the room of lord Hillsborough.

Lord Charles Spencer, a lord of the admiralty, (in the room of Mr Jenkinson, made a lord of treasury some weeks before.)

Right Hon. Mr. Rigby, one of the joint vice-treasurers of Ireland, in the room of Mr. Oswald, who retires with the reversion of a lucrative place in Scotland for his son.

Hon. Hen. F. Thynne, master of the household, in the room of Mr Harris, deceased.

Richard Vernon esq; a clerk of the board of green cloth, in the room of the Hon. Mr. Grey.

The

The idea of a THIRD secretary of state, whose business is to be confined to the colonies only, is not a new one; nor is it a measure that is wholly unnecessary. It was originally proposed at the time that lord Hallifax was first lord of trade; but the expence of such an additional department was the objection to its being then carried into execution, though it was intended that the employment of third secretary should be given to the first lord of trade, in order to save the expence of one of the salaries. Upon the accession of the Marquis of R—— to power, the same scheme of secretary of state for the colonies was again adopted, and the employment was still intended to be given to the first lord of trade, for the same reason as before. And, to prevent as much as possible an increase of expence, it was also intended that the clerks of the board of trade should likewise be the clerks of the new secretary, and that the lords of trade should be a kind of council to him. But when this plan was ready to be carried into execution, and nothing remained to be done, but for lord Dartmouth (who was then first lord of trade) to kiss his M——'s hand upon it, lord Ch—— at that instant came into power, and, because he would not adopt any plan of a predecessor's, he disapproved of this of a third secretary; which was the true and only reason of lord D——'s resignation on the 30th of July, 1766. Lord Ch——'s first measure of government, after he had made his arrangements, was to transfer the American business from the board of trade to the office of secretary for the southern department, and the board of trade he reduced to the capacity of a board of reference only; in which capacity, by these last alterations, it is still to remain.

From the manner in which the colony-business has of late been transacted, or rather neglected, the necessity of a secretary of state for the colonies only, has been more manifest; and it would certainly be deemed, by most men, a right measure, if it had not the appearance of a *job*.

A creation of new offices is an accumulation of power to the crown; which is ever to be dreaded in this country; for a time may come, when Englishmen may not be so happy to have a George the Third upon the throne. It is possible, that a prince of a contrary complexion and principles, may hereafter sway the sceptre of this country; and what can hinder such a prince from making a wicked use of this increased prerogative? Burnet says, upon Queen Anne's creating twelve new peers to carry the *job* of the Peace of Utrecht, *though nobody could dispute the power of the crown to create these peers, yet such an extraordinary exertion of the prerogative was*

was regarded by the people as dangerous to the happiness and interests of the kingdom; and so, in fact, it proved; for, a few days after the introduction of those lords into the upper house, the court carried a question by the majority of them only. The ministers then ventured upon making that infamous peace which so immediately succeeded. In a like manner ought we to regard, and to be alarmed at, an increase of *places*, as being liable, in bad hands, to equal mischiefs and abuses.

To the *manner* of this new appointment of a third secretary of state there are two objections; one is, the increase thereby made to the power of the crown, which has been just mentioned; the other is, the expence it will be to the public; for, being an entire new office, there must, of course, be a new establishment for it, which will amount to no inconsiderable sum annually. Then comes the salary of the secretary himself, and possibly an under-secretary, who probably may be a member of parliament, which, if they are not more, will at least be the same with those of the other secretaries of state, and may therefore be safely put down at 8000*l.* per annum.

So that upon the whole, this change of hands may fairly be said to have been accomplished at the additional expence of at least 14 or 15,000*l.* per annum.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

The POLITICAL BAROMETER.

Dec. 3, **T**HOMAS TOWNSHEND, jun. Esq; made 1767. joint-paymaster of the army, in the room of Lord North, and a privy-counsellor.

George Onslow, Esq; (one of the lords of treasury) also made a privy-counsellor.

Charles Jenkinson, Esq; (who was the Earl of Bute's private secretary, when that lord was openly in power) made a lord of the treasury, in the room of Mr. Thomas Townshend.

10th. Died the Earl of Rothes, at Leslie, in Scotland.

23d. Earl Gower kissed his Majesty's hand, on being appointed president of the council.

Edward Willes, Esq; made a judge of the King's-bench, in the room of Lord Lifford, and chancellor to the prince of Wales;—*a revived office.*

John Dunning, Esq; appointed solicitor-general, in the room of Mr. Willes.

For

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

The following is the APPENDIX to the celebrated Pamphlet called the BUDGET, stating the late Renewal of the Bank Charter, which was printed at the Time it bears Date, and privately circulated among the Hands of a few, but for some Reason or other was not publicly sold.

I SHALL state the value of the bank-charter in the following manner. We find by comparing the dividend of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. which the bank make upon their stock, with the annuity at 3 per cent. which they receive from the government, that their annual profits, as an incorporated bank, amount to about 140,000 l. But if the bank-charter was to be transferred to any other corporation, the greatest part of their profits would fail. Their number as a partnership for banking would be reduced to six; for whoever was to obtain the charter constituting them the Bank of England must have this fundamental clause continued exclusively in *their* favour. By consequence the present bank would lose all the profits which they now make from banking, and be reduced to little more than the savings which they could make out of the annual stipend, allowed to them for charges of management upon sundry annuities, which would still continue transferable under their direction. However, to keep quite on the safe side of the argument, I will only suppose that they would lose one half of their present profits if they had no charter. Then it follows that what the government had to sell them, was an annuity of 70,000 l. a year for a lease of 21 years. This being valued at 14 years purchase would amount to 980,000 l.

We may state this matter in another light, but much to the same effect. If the charter of the bank had not been renewed, it can by no means be unreasonable to suppose, that their profits would have been so far impaired, as to make their capital stock of less value, by 10 per cent. than it is at present: This loss would amount to 1,078,000 l. (being 10 per cent. upon their capital stock) and therefore the charter which protects them from this loss, must be worth 1,078,000 l. to them, tho' they have not given more than about 130,000 l. for the purchase of it. Upon the whole it should seem, that if we set the bank-charter at a million, we run no risk of overvaluing it; therefore I shall proceed upon that supposition. I do not mean to attempt an accurate estimate of the value of the bank-charter, but merely to take safe grounds, upon which we may shew, that the ministry have no great cause to boast of their merit in driving a bargain, when they have sold for one hundred and thirty thou-

and pounds, what they could not think to be worth less than a million.

But in all matters of bargaining, not only the value of the thing, but the mutual necessities and risks of the respective parties in the bargain are to be considered; let us therefore state this point between the bank and the administration. The object with the bank must certainly be not to lessen the value of their stock; the consideration which the ministry will plead, must be the risk of disturbing public credit, if they did not immediately renew the charter of the bank.

With regard to the former, we know that monied men are not heroes in these matters; and therefore, as it can hardly be supposed that the proprietors of bank-stock would have been quite easy under the apprehension of losing their charter, it seems to follow, that the ministry might have made the anxiety of individuals for their own private interest, to operate a little more towards the public support than it has done in this instance. More especially as the ministry were not hard pressed, by any means; for the charter of the bank did not expire *ipso facto* in August 1764, though after that time it would be redeemable and transferable, to any other corporation or set of men, who might have thought it worth while to have offered more than 130,000l.

There is some strange superstition about public credit, as if the very hesitation to renew the bank-charter would be fatal. This is a very convenient doctrine for the proprietors of bank-stock, and they have reaped the benefit of it this year. I would not be for proposing violent measures, though, at the same time, I can by no means see any such imminent danger, in this case, of shaking public credit, as to make it utterly unsafe for the ministers to hesitate, or to take sufficient consideration how or where they might have got a better bargain.

The dissolution of the bank-charter must be supposed either to affect the credit of their private bills, or the facility of government circulation. With regard to their private credit, that does not depend upon their charter; can any one suppose, that the credit of the bank stands upon no better foundation, than a piece of parchment and sealing-wax? No, we take bank-notes in current payment, because the bank always pays at sight, and because we have the fullest assurance, whether the bank have any charter or not, that their estate in the funds, which by act of parliament is made answerable, would at all adventures secure to their creditors the payment of twenty shillings in the pound. What good did the charter do for them when the original bank cracked in King William's time? none at all. Till the bank became pay-masters at sight, and their funds became known, and

to be depended upon, in consequence of the establishment of national credit and the security of the public funds, no man would take a bank note in payment at *par*, notwithstanding the supposed magic of their charter. Let the administration try the virtue of a mere charter upon half a score of their majority friends among the bankrupt merchants; I fear their notes would have but a very limited currency: though at the same time any set of men, who have an ostensible estate of ten or twelve millions, and that secured by act of parliament for the payment of their debts, might, without a charter, extend their credit as far as they please. It is therefore the unquestionable responsibility of the bank that gives them general credit, and not their charter.

If the bank-charter had been dissolved, what would have been the consequence to their private credit? just the same consequence that would happen if any private shop in the city should give notice of their leaving off trade; they would call in all their bills, they would pay twenty shillings in the pound, and the business would go to other shops according to their respective credit; and if any other set of men, proprietors of ten or twelve millions in the funds, could obtain an act of parliament declaring their joint-stock liable to the payment of their notes of credit, and if by the same act they were bound to pay their bills at sight; they might have directors, and governors, and committees, and a great house, and every important non-essential which could strike the minds of the vulgar; and perhaps ministers, when they found a modern bank discounting bills, and supporting an extensive credit, might lose their superstitious notions, as if nothing less than supernatural powers could have raised this incomprehensible fabric; the priestcraft of state banks would be detected, and the monopoly dissolved.

As to the facility of government circulation, that likewise depends upon the same principles as the private credit of the bank, viz. the largeness of their capital, and the responsibility of their funds; and therefore, from the moment that the charter of the present bank was transferred to any corporation possessed of as large property as the bank, what should hinder the effect of a policy, founded upon rational principles, from operating in favour of a new charter as well as the old? The whole mystery of credit consists in one plain and sober principle, viz. the sufficiency and responsibility of funds; and wherever these are provided, private credit will flourish, and the government need not fear having a bank capable of supplying their demands.

I do not say, that it would have been eligible to transfer the bank-charter without some other motive than merely that of
F 2 change

change ; but let the bank look to that, let them offer such terms as their charter is worth. It is a very material point to them not to run the risk of lessening the value of their stock ; especially as the government is not threatened with any such difficulty or distress, but what a very little exertion of themselves, and steadiness, might provide against upon the safest grounds.

There is a strange kind of doctrine held by the bank, as if the continuance of their charter were a matter of inconsiderable value. The fallacious ground of this argument lies here ; that as their charter enforces no obligation upon the public to take bank notes, and, therefore, as they stand, like any other shop, upon the foundation of their own property and credit, where is the mighty benefit conveyed by their charter ? Now, if this argument had been carried one hair's breadth farther than it has been this very year, it would prove, that the bank have done a favour to the public by receiving the continuation of their charter, for they have given next to nothing for it : And so far I allow, that it does but obscurely appear upon the face of the charter, in what manner the bank receive any benefit from it, although it carries real and infallible advantages to them in its consequences ; for their charter, by uniting a large and respectable body of men, with such pre-eminent credit as must arise from the largeness of their known estate, specified, and secured upon the authority and faith of parliament ; does enable them, and them only, to circulate the land and malt bills, and other government monies, while the government are, in effect, precluded from applying to any other shop. The credit of private bankers (who must not be more than six in partnership, nor can receive any countenance by act of parliament as a *fellowship in the nature of a bank*) cannot be so secure, even in the common course of supplies ; and would be much less capable of advancing large sums upon emergence, with equal expedition and secrecy, as the bank, which derives its greatness from the authority of government ; so that the beneficial clause in their charter, does in effect amount to this ; whereas the bank must be well assured, that the government cannot get their business done at a petty shop, therefore an act shall be passed to disable the government from setting up any shop of sufficient consideration to serve them ; by which means they are thrown into the hands of the bank ; who, from that time forward, have a monopoly against their benefactors ; and in the profit of this monopoly it is, that the benefit of their charter consists. If the bank were to have inserted in their charter, that the government should by no means employ any other shop,

shop, the advantage would become more conspicuous, but not more certain.

But indeed all argument is superfluous when the question relates to a matter of fact: for, whether these advantages do arise to the bank by immediate connexion with their charter, or by infallible consequence out of it; the matter of fact is, that the bank do value them at a very great rate, as appears by the price of their stock; so that it is but a juggle to deny the advantage that the bank derive from their situation, when they set a different price upon it themselves. The bank has divided one and a half per cent. above the current rate of interest for many years; they would prosecute a man for calumny and defamation; who should propagate any report that they would not do so for the future; their stock sells at this hour upon the same confidence; and yet they have persuaded the minister to renew their lease for less than one year's purchase of their clear profits. Did the minister apply to the holders of the old or new South-Sea annuities, or to any proprietors of ten or twelve millions of the national funds, to know what they would have given to purchase the advantages, necessary or contingent, (as that may be) which the bank enjoy at present? If not, I think it would be a morning or two well spent, for the minister to go a shopping with the maids of honour, till he has learnt, that the best way to make a bargain, is by going to more shops than one.

But methinks I hear their apology already, viz. that in the year 1742, the bank-charter was renewed even upon terms inferior to the present. That, however, is no satisfaction as to the merits of the question; and if the present administration are determined to copy nothing from former times but their errors, I do not envy them their apology: Though I must confess that there is a similarity between the circumstances of the present ministry, and that temporary system which was struggling for breath when the bargain was made in 1742: That contract with the bank was concluded about a month after Sir Robert Walpole's resignation, by my Lord Wilmington, to gain credit with the Whig-bank. The new administration at that time had no more credit in the city, or with monied men, than the present ministry has now; and therefore the motive was equally urgent, to tamper with the monied men, by granting them great advantages; however, at present, all such attempts are made in vain.

April 1764.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.
Of EXPEDIENTS.

S I R,

“ I N every sound and healthful government, there is a steadiness of proceeding by good means to good ends, which is called conduct : But in a sickly state, as many emergencies arise, so new medicines and expedients must be applied ; and such a government may be called a government of expedients. Such a one is our’s ; and the great art and cunning, in every session of parliament, to bring it to such an issue as is expected, is but an expedient ; and expedients never *bold*, they only serve a *turn* : Cunning and trick in statesmen, argue them to be mountebanks in politics ; and weak governments must always have a care of evil accidents and occasions, which are often the causes of their dissolution.”

Such is the lively picture of the political system, drawn by that great master Denzil Hollis, in the reign of Charles Stuart the Second, in 1676, in his letter to Monsieur Van Benninghen, some time ambassador to this court from the States General. Let us now examine how far this description is applicable to the present times.

Expedient is defined to be a *modus*—a thing needful to be done, called by our modern statesmen a measure—or a *peropus*—very necessary—very needful, and may be extended by our modern statesmen to *state necessity*—but it always means something temporary.

I imagine no one, whether South or North Briton, will dispute, that, upon the accession of his present Majesty, the Favourite was pitched upon to be the premier minister ; and the expedients made use of to establish and preserve his power, as well when he was the *public*, the *open* minister, as when he *played a part*, and *ruled* behind the curtain, shall be the subject of this my present lucubration.

The first public appearance of the Favourite, was in the office of groom of the stole. This may properly be called a *modus*, or expedient introductory : Here he did not continue long ; and we next find him a secretary of state, pursuing the same tract.—His transition from this situation, was as rapid as from the former ; and we soon after find him first lord of the treasury, or premier minister, invested with *full* and *absolute powers*. This may be termed *peropus*—very needful—very necessary—*sed nunc peropus est*.—And let all those who felt his vengeance, and the mighty power of his arm, (*many of whom*, by the way, *now truckle* to him) bear testimony to what extent he did exercise his absolute power ; and how availing himself of the means
then

then in his possession, and of the sanction of both houses of parliament, for the *modus* or *peropus* of the peace, &c. &c. &c. he closed the sessions and the year, with the strongest marks of victory possible. But, alas! how uncertain are all sublunary things! he did not take care of evil accidents, as Mr. Hollis observes, and these were the causes of his *political dissolution*, or at least of his retiring from office; for we saw this great Northern Meteor set in the zenith of his power, when he had found expedients to conquer all opposition, except the voice of a free people, which he does not seem to regard, but which will some time drag him from his lurking holes, as it drove him from his public station. We then saw him call in other expedients to his aid; and the first was to form an administration of such members, as he thought he could rule with his nod; but here we found him mistaken; for these gentlemen, after a short time, began to set up for themselves, and this produced a new expedient or *modus*—the sending for the Great Commoner, or rather the Favourite's carrying him into the K—'s closet, without the knowledge or participation of any one of the ministers—which expedient, however, not having met with the desired success—the next *peropus* was to gain the consent of the then ministers to continue their functions, which could not be effected, but by the hard conditions of giving up his own brother, S— M———his counsellor and bosom friend, L— H———and his fellow-labourer in the late Prince's family, L— D———. This was a *peropus* with a witness, and not like to last long, but which the Favourite was under a necessity of submitting to.—The next expedient that succeeded, was to bring in an administration which deserved the mild epithet of a *modus* or temporary measure, because it was formed merely to turn those out who had dared to oppose the mighty Thane; and so their continuance proved; and indeed what else could be expected from the little, simple, insignificant particles of which it was composed—indeed there were some good and worthy men who were unadvisedly drawn into this expedient, and they may easily be known, by their having withdrawn themselves upon a future proposed expedient.—As this expedient could not hold, and as many of the above honest gentlemen had openly rebelled against the mighty Thane, he was reduced to the *peropus* of applying to L— T——— and Mr. Pitt; the latter of whom adopted the expedient, and came readily into the *modus*, for reasons which are now well known to the world; and the former, for reasons which are equally well known, and which will do him everlasting honour, refused.—The next expedient, was to procure a set of servile tools, such as sprung *se falice, non ex quercu*. They were accordingly at last found,

found, tho' with some difficulty: they re-established the Favourite's brother, S— M——; gave L— D——, and another of his creatures, lucrative places; and filled up various offices with his dependants, giving pensions, reversionary rewards, unheard of before, to such as would list under his banner, without the least regard to ability, family, character, &c. By these expedients the present ministers exist, and by others too long to mention, equally meritorious; in consequence of which the civil list is one year in debt, and the honour and dignity of the crown, the respect due to government, and the credit of the nation both at home and abroad, are reduced to a situation, which cannot fail to draw tears of sorrow from every discerning Englishman.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Cautions to the English Electors, against such persons as they ought NOT to chuse to represent them in the ensuing parliament.

OF all the different characters that exist in society, that of a legislator, or member of parliament, is by far the most important. Others are employed in devising rules and maxims for the direction of their own private conduct; the legislator is occupied in making laws and institutions for the government of the whole nation. As this character, therefore, is of so much consequence, it ought not to be bestowed but with the utmost deliberation; and I shall here take the liberty of offering to my fellow-countrymen, a few necessary cautions against such as they ought *not* to chuse to represent them in the ensuing parliament. These may be comprehended, with a very few exceptions, under the title of merchants, colonists, lawyers, eldest sons of peers, placemen and pensioners, spendthrifts, young men without knowledge or experience, and trimmers, or those who compose, what is usually called the Flying Squadron. And first of

The MERCHANT.

The character of a merchant is deservedly respectable, being in reality the cementing principle of the whole body politic; and it has, besides, this singular advantage annexed to it, that reconciles to the greatest interests of society, the most selfish and mercenary pursuits. Every gain which the merchant makes, from fair adventure, serves equally, at the same time, to enrich others, and to diffuse through the whole state, a general spirit of industry and application. This is the greatest benefit arising from the mercantile

mercantile profession, and a benefit, it must be owed, peculiar to itself; but it behoves us, for that very reason, to be extremely cautious, upon whom we bestow that honourable title. There are none to whom it can be justly due but real adventuring merchants; men who have large fortunes actually employed in foreign traffic. Factors, agents, insurers, brokers, and such sorts of people, though highly useful in their stations, are by no means entitled to the honours of that character; much less are fund-mongers, stock-jobbers, directors of incorporated companies, government contractors, court-jobbers, and such other sorts of people as may be rather stiled instruments of power, and preys upon the people. It is true, that the characters of both kinds are sometimes blended together; and then the merits of the useful are sunk in the demerits of the hurtful.

The pure and unmixed mercantile character, is therefore the only of trading ones that deserves great honour; because a man of that profession every way enriches his country, and in no way injures it. This character of a genuine merchant, is, I am afraid, less common at present than it was in former times; government-engagements and alley-dealings having contributed to destroy it.

But of merchants in general, this much may be affirmed, that all their services done to the community, proceed from their search after private gain, and it is merely by accident that this coincides with the public interest, while they only seek to benefit themselves. Thus their practices are purely selfish, however advantageous they may prove to their country.

The sole object of a merchant, in all his undertakings, is private gain. It is his duty to make it such, the great duty of his station; and he is the more valuable member of society the more vigorously he prosecutes it; as the great interests of his country are therein linked with his own. But this useful propensity gives a bias to his mind, till gain, by degrees, becomes the sole object of his thoughts; and when that is the case, extraordinary opportunities for making it may prove very dangerous baits. Hence even genuine merchants may be considered as an order that should not predominate in an House of Commons; much less those who, with all that avidity for gain which the mercantile character naturally produces, are employed in pursuits, that instead of being useful, are hurtful to society.

True merchant adventurers may, however, be very useful in that assembly; and they are the most proper representatives of the great places of general trade; such as the cities of London and Bristol, and the towns of Liverpool and Hull. Were these represented by the ablest of their own merchants, no body

would complain; and it would be the better for the public if there were no other merchants in the house; nor ought one tradesman, or jobber, or alley-dealer, to be there: For they are of no use for information, and have all such a bias towards money-getting on their minds, as may make them dangerous to be relied on, in trusts of such importance as those of public liberty, and the properties of a people.

Of all those who have sat in parliament, under the character of merchant, let candour examine how many have been useful; and how many have been known to acquire there emoluments, such as perhaps none but great adepts in arithmetic could be accurate calculators of. Merchants, therefore, are more useful to the nation in their accounting-houses than they are in the senate: Their dealings in one place being most eminently useful, and in the other often as singularly pernicious.

Of Colonists, and persons connected with the Colonies

ANOTHER set of people whom I would caution you against chusing to represent you in the ensuing parliament, are colonists, and persons connected with the colonies.

The mother-country, in point of people at least, may be considered as the source and origin of the colony. This gives her a natural right to dominion and authority. She is moreover the protectress or guardian of the colony; which gives her a political right to the same kind of dominion and authority.

The rights of nature and of policy ought always to be strictly guarded. It is with the offsprings of nations, as with those of mankind: Affection naturally descends, and duty ought to ascend. The parents seldom fail in their parts; the children often do. Colonies, like children, have always an eye to independence; and too commonly think they have an interest to prosecute at the expence of those who gave them birth.

It is on this principle we ought to judge of parliamentary influence with respect to our colonies: We owe them protection; they owe us obedience. Should our interests ever be rendered subservient to theirs, our natural stations will thereby become quite changed: They will then grow our masters, and we their tributary dependants; a people whom they will govern by means of our own parliament.

I decline the discussion of a late contest; but cannot help remarking, that the soil of our South American colonies is too much monopolized; and that monopoly affects the pockets of every one in this kingdom. The owners of lands there ought to cultivate them, or part with them; and not be allowed to make their own prices for a necessary commodity, from the
scantiness

scantiness of the production. Were all the corn lands in England engrossed by an hundred people, and they, in order to secure their own prices for grain, should resolve to cultivate but half of them, the community would certainly have a right to resist such an injury, and oblige them to cultivate all their lands, or else to dispose of them; for monopolies in general are inconsistent with freedom, and repugnant to the policy and rights of all nations. The encreasing riches and power of our colonists, are well known. These are things that require to be remedied; and that remedy must be a parliamentary one. Ought we then to favour an influence that must naturally operate against such a remedy?

Colony intrigues, therefore, should never be admitted to operate in our national senate. We should never forget, that our colonies are in subjection to us; and that it is their proper station to be so. But if we suffer them to buy us out of our native inheritances and votes with our own money; and by their influence in parliament, become the framers of our laws, it must then be they that will govern us, instead of our governing them; and we shall dwindle into a tributary nation to those to whom we gave birth, and have hitherto protected. Let Americans, therefore, be kept in their proper sphere; and no interest but a genuine British one be ever suffered to prevail in a British House of Commons.

L A W Y E R S.

YOU ought likewise to be extremely cautious of chusing lawyers to represent you in parliament. The Marquis of Halifax says on this subject; "If lawyers have great practice, that ought to take them up; if not, it is no great sign of their ability; and at the same time giveth suspicion that they may be more liable to be tempted.

"If it should be so in fact, that no King ever wanted judges to soften the stiffness of the laws that were made, so as to make them suit better with the reason of state, and the convenience of government, it is no injury now to suppose it possible for lawyers in the House of Commons so to behave themselves, in making of new laws, as the better to make way for the having their robes lined with fur.

"They are men used to argue on both sides of a question; and if ordinary fees can inspire them with very good reasons in a very ill cause, that faculty exercised in parliaments, where it may be better encouraged, may prove very inconvenient to those that chuse them.

“ And therefore, without arraigning a profession that it would be scandalous for a man not to honour, one may, by a suspicion, which is more excusable when it is in behalf of the people, imagine, that the habit of taking money for their opinion, may create in some such a forgetfulness to distinguish, that they may take it for their vote.

“ They are generally men, who by a laborious study hope to be advanced. They have it in their eye, as a reward for the toil they undergo.

“ This maketh them generally very slow and ill-disposed (let the occasion never so much require it) to wrestle with that soil where preferment groweth.

“ Now, if the supposition be in itself not unreasonable, and that it should happen to be strengthened and confirmed by experience, it will be very unnecessary to say any more upon this article, but leave it to the electors to consider of it.

ELDEST SONS of PEERS.

NOR ought the eldest sons of Peers to find more favour with you than the Colonists or the Lawyers. The Lords and Commons have long since established rules, as well for the support of their particular orders, as for the promotion of their general interest. They unite in carrying on the affairs of the nation, but with a jealousy and rivalry of each other's importance: And on this jealousy and rivalry the power of the crown and their own safety alike depend.

Hence they respectively assert privileges, which they resolutely support, and which essentially divide them in the pursuit of the public interest. They act separately as bodies, though jointly for the community; and the community, as well as the crown, is best served and secured by this junction of counsels, and this disjunction of orders. The more distinct, therefore, this pale of separation is kept, the more happy must it be for the whole community.

One of the great privileges which the Commons assert, is, that the Peers have no right to interfere in their parliamentary elections; a privilege, which, it is well known, the Peers do not acknowledge in theory, and still less, perhaps, submit to in practice. But the keeping the Lower House entirely free from the influence of the Upper one, is essential to the very being of our mixed constitution. For, should the Upper House ever, from the increase of such influence, gain the ascendancy in the Lower one, the democratical part of our government would be swallowed up in the aristocratical; and the crown and the commonalty would be equally reduced to slavery.

For

For this reason, the eldest sons of Peers, who are born to the heirship of a seat in the Upper House, are persons in whose hands the rights and privileges of the Commons should by no means be trusted. They must have the interests of their own order too much at heart : And, from a natural jealousy of the Commons, must be apt to side too strongly with the crown, as friends to that prerogative from which their nobility is derived, and of the splendour of which their high dignities enable them to partake. Against such an influence, therefore, the Commons should ever be on their guard, especially as of late the number of Peers has been so greatly encreased : And we see what a great proportion of them, and of their children, there is likewise in the army.

PLACEMEN and PENSIONERS.

BUT of all sorts of men, against whom I would caution you, the principal are placemen and pensioners. It may be necessary, indeed, for the information of the house, the service of the crown, and the forwarding of public business, that some men in posts should have seats in the House of Commons. But as most men, who are possessed of public employments, are supposed to act under influence ; this must be admitted as an indisputable maxim, that a majority of members in the Lower House having places, pensions, or other emoluments, would make that house no assembly acting on the part of the people, but one that acts merely for their own private advantage, by the direction of the crown, in disposing of the rights and properties of the people, at the will of the sovereign.

It is from a supposition of the truth of this maxim, that members of parliament, who accept of offices from the government, thereby vacate their seats in the house ; and that their constituents are at liberty to re-elect them, or not, as they shall judge it safe to repose so great a trust in their hands. For the same reason, many offices of importance to the state disqualify those who hold them from enjoying a seat in parliament : Nay, many of them, exclude their possessors from all right of using influence in parliamentary elections, under the severe and infamous penalties of fining, cashiering, and being rendered incapable of ever holding an employment again under the government. All which laws and regulations manifestly imply, that men under the influence of government, have such a bias upon their minds, that it is neither safe for the state they should be members of parliament themselves, nor exercise any influence in the election of those who are.

Thus

Thus has the legislature itself set a mark upon placemen, and thereby signified the great danger of electing them: members of parliament. It is indeed unreasonable to suppose, that any body of people can be freely represented by a man who is himself not free, and who actually enjoys a reward for submitting to the will of another. So that it is on the virtue of an uninfluenced majority, or the great rectitude of government, and not on the integrity of such men, that the people must depend for the security and preservation of their liberties and properties.

It is idle to suppose, that men in such situations are left to the dictates of their own conscience, since the open declaration of a former premier is well known, that *a minister would be a pitiful fellow indeed, who did not turn any man out who acted contrary to his will.* And I wish there were not undeniable proofs of obedience being demanded not only of the elected but even of the electors; that we had not seen instances of the refractoriness of both the one and the other punished by means that were equally injurious to the sufferers, and detrimental to the nation.

It is weak therefore to imagine, that strict obedience is not exacted from those who receive emoluments from the crown; or that for the sake of them, they will not vote contrary to the interest and opinion of their constituents.

Mr. Gordon talking of this subject, in a discourse addressed to freeholders, observes that "that he will prove but a sorry advocate, who takes fees from your adversary; and as indifferent a plenipotentiary, who receives a pension from the Prince whom he is commissioned to treat with; nor can there be any security in the fidelity of one, who can find it more his interest to betray you, than to serve you faithfully." And in another place he says, "Choose not therefore such as are likely to truck away your liberties for an equivalent to themselves, and to sell you or those against whom it is their duty to defend you. When their duty is in one scale, and a thousand pounds a year, or more, or less, is thrown into the contrary scale, you may easily guess, as the world goes, how the balance is like to turn."

OF the FLYING SQUADRON, SPEND- THRIFTS, YOUNG MEN, &c.

THE last class of men I shall at present mention, as unfit to represent you in the ensuing parliament, are spendthrifts, young men, and what are usually called *The Flying Squadron*. This last is a sort of men of a dubious, undeterminate character, whose variable conduct would never suffer their constituents to say precisely what they are; and for this reason it is, that they have
obtain

obtained the appellation of the *Squadron volante*, or *Flying Squadron*. They are a kind of heterogeneous, amphibious animals; hermaphrodites, or Otters in politics; neither in nor out, pro nor con, court nor country, whig nor tory, Scot nor English. They are, like sir Anthony Brainville, in a state of fluctuation; and hang, like Mahomet's tomb, in perpetual suspense. They are ready to veer and turn, like approved weathercocks, with every gust of politicks. They stand between *aye* and *no*, like the schoolman's ass between two bundles of hay; or like prince Volscius in Love—hip, hop; hip, hop—one boot on, and t'other boot off.

Spendthrifts are another sort of men whom it is unsafe to depend upon: because prodigality begets poverty; and poverty, when joined to luxury, is a strong temptation to corruption. An habit of pleasure and extravagance will excite desires, which, if not satisfied on honourable terms, will be gratified with dishonour. This, if the practice of selling conscience was more infamous than it now is, must always be the case of those in necessitous circumstances, especially considering the unhappy tendency of vice; for when virtue is once dismissed, we soon grow familiar with dishonour. A man who is base enough to wrong those who trust him, need take but one step farther in iniquity to sell himself and his country.

Young men, if of a volatile disposition, are also unfit for such a charge: because they will be apt to think too lightly of the most weighty matters, and treat in a trifling way things that require the most serious attention; nay, will sometimes be led by their passions to exceed the bounds of reason. We ought not to forget a late violent prosecution, which was pushed on with extraordinary violence and much seeming malignity by a young man of good family, and now in high office, to the great disgust of all dispassionate persons. Senators should have calmness, wisdom and foresight; qualities in which extreme youth are very apt to be deficient. It is proper, therefore, not to rely upon spirit before it is qualified by prudence: for indiscretion, or rashness, may in some cases prove as pernicious as bad intentions. Mr. Gordon says farther on this subject.

“Choose not those who live at a great distance from you, and whose abilities, probity, and fortunes, are not well known to you. Reject all those timorous, fearful, and dastardly spirits; men, who, having good principles, either dare not own them, or act according to them. Choose not men who are noted for non-attendance, and who have been members of parliament without waiting upon the business of parliament; men who will probably be engaged in a foxchace, in a tavern, or in other debauched houses, though the kingdom were undoing. What excuse

excuse can they offer for themselves, when by their wanton absence a vote may pass, which may cost you millions ?

“ Be particularly careful, that those whom you choose be duly qualified according to law, and that no deceit be practised in obtaining temporary qualifications. You ought to enquire into their estates, and how they came by them : and if they have none, as many who stand candidates, I am told, have not, you may guess who assists them, and what hopeful services are to be expected from them. Such men, you may be sure, will never speak your sense in parliament—nor their own, if they have any ; but that of their masters.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Historical and Political Considerations upon Taxation and the Finances : Translated from the French of M. D'Eon.

Of Taxes under the Romans.

THE empire of Rome is a spectacle worthy the attention of a monarch. Nothing can be more interesting for him to know, than that Rome was indebted, for her power and grandeur, to the wise administration of her revenues ; and that dissipation soon brought on her ruin.

Valerius Publicola (1) was the first who ordered the revenue of the republic to be deposited in the temple of Saturn, that the sanctity of the place might render this deposit still more sacred. (2) There were two treasuries ; the one, destined for the daily wants of the republic, consisted of the tributes and usual taxes ; and the other, of the gold arising from the tax of the 20th part upon the sale of slaves. This was called *aurum vicefmarium*, and was never touched but in cases of the most urgent necessity. (3)

Until the 350th year of Rome, the Roman soldiers were not paid by the republic. They went to war at their own expence ; and it was not till the siege of Veii, that the troops began to receive pay. But in proportion as the Romans aggrandized their
state,

(1) This is the same Valerius who forbade widows, orphans, and the poorer kind of people, to contribute to the taxes, that they might thereby be enabled to rear their families. *Hoc satis stipendii solvere aiebat, si Respublicæ liberos ederent atque alerent.*

(2) *Macrob. Lib. 1. Saturn. C. 6.*

(3) *Tit. Liv. Lib. 27.*

state, and formed more extensive plans of dominion, they were persuaded, that nothing was of greater consequence, than a fund capable of supporting the state, in times of war and peace, without being obliged to load the people with taxes. These taxes were not heavy, though their armies were already very numerous ; but good order, oeconomy in government, and the riches of Carthage, of Sicily, and the cities of Asia, which were brought into the treasury, supplied the place of contributions from the people. The generals of the armies, in those happy ages, were solely engaged in enriching the republic. They considered themselves only as the trustees of the spoils of the conquered nations : they were entirely ignorant of the art of appropriating those riches to themselves.

It was not till some years after the last punic war, that ambitious citizens arose, who usurped the spoils of the conquered people, and planned the slavery of their native country. Such were Marius, Sylla, Pompey, Cæsar, and Lucullus, who may be reckoned in the number of those illustrious robbers.

But in the happy times of the republic, the Roman generals were always attentive to make the conquered people pay the expences of the war, by imposing on them a tribute ; and the immense sums of gold and silver, which they had brought into the public treasury, were not the smallest part of their triumph. May I be allowed to quote, in this place, the noble answer, which Fabricius made to Pyrrhus king of Epirus. “ Long engaged, (said he) in the administration of public affairs, I have
“ had a thousand opportunities of amassing, with a fair character,
“ considerable sums of money. Could a more favourable one
“ be desired than that which offered four years ago. Invested
“ with the consular dignity, I was sent against the Samnites,
“ the Lucanians, and the Brutians, at the head of a numerous
“ army. I ravaged a great part of the enemies country : I de-
“ feated them in various battles : I carried several very flourish-
“ ing cities by assault : I enriched the whole army with their
“ spoils : I indemnified every citizen for what he had furnished
“ towards the expences of the war ; and having received the ho-
“ nours of a triumph, I put 400 talents into the public treasury.”

The same policy and the same disinterestedness were observed during the most glorious æra of the republic ; and I shall mention some other instances of the patriotism of those illustrious Romans, who contented themselves with being enriched solely with glory. Scipio, in the treaty of peace, which he concluded with the Carthaginians, obliged them to pay 30 millions of

livres in the space of 50 years, at stated times, and in equal payments ; besides which he put into the public treasury upwards of 4 millions. (1)

T. Quintus Flaminius did not make a less advantageous peace with Philip, king of Macedon : he obliged that prince to pay the republic three millions ; half of which was paid in ready money, and the other within the space of ten years. (2) What a prodigious quantity of money was Spain obliged to furnish to her conquerors ? Cornelius Lentulus brought home, in different species, 17,211,420 livres of our money. Lucius Stertinius got from the Spaniards 73,400 livres. (3)

A short time after, Heliuss brought home, in ingots of silver, 53,352 livres ; and in different kinds of money 48,593 livres. (4)

Q. Minutius drew again from Spain 11,000,596 livres.

Titus Quintus Flaminius did not grant peace to Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, but upon advantageous terms to the republic. He compelled him to pay down 240,000 livres, and to send annually 120,000 livres, for eight years. (5)

Portius Cato, after his conquest of Spain, sent into the public treasury 900,000 livres in ingots of silver, and in various pieces of gold and silver 18,833,200 livres. (6)

With what haughtiness did Scipio Africanus oblige king Antiochus to accept of the most hard terms of peace ? " You shall pay for the expences of the war," said he to the Ambassadors of that monarch, " 24 millions, that is, 800,000 livres down, " 4 millions after the senate and people of Rome have ratified the " peace, and one million six hundred thousand livres annually, " for twelve succeeding years." (7)

Examples so conducive to the happiness to the republic, were followed by all the great generals. (8) Lucius Scipio brought back from Asia, which he had conquered, 20,000,000 of livres.

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(1.) Ibid. lib. 30.

(2.) *Mille talentum daret Populo Romano ; dimidium præsens, dimidium pensionibus decem annorum.* Tit. Liv. L. 33.

(3.) Ibid.

(4.) Tit. Liv. lib. 33. and 34. (5) Ibid. lib. 34. (6) Ibid.

(7) *Pro impensis deinde in bellum factis quindecim millia talentum Euboicorum dabit* (1) *Quingenta præsentia, duo millia quingenta cum Senatus Populusque Romanus pacem comprobaverint, & mille talentum per duodecim annos.* Tit. Liv. Lib. 37, & 38.

(1) The Talent of Eubæa was valued at 1600 livres of our money.

(8) Ibid lib. 30.

Cn. Manlius, after having triumphed over the people of Gallo-Græcia, brought to Rome 220,000 Roman pounds weight of silver, worth 7,092,000 livres, and 2,230 Roman pounds of gold, which were worth nearly 233,120 livres.

Thus did the Romans often increase their treasures by their conquests over Macedon, Egypt, Asia, Greece, Africa, the kingdom of Pontus and Armenia. But the sums which Paulus Emilius sent to Rome, after the defeat of king Perseus, were so considerable, that, according to Plutarch, no taxes whatsoever were levied from that time till the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa. (1)

How agreeable it is to walk, as it were, amidst the virtues of these generous consuls, who with one hand vanquished the enemies of the state, and with the other brought plenty into the bosom of their country. Arbiters of the rights of war and peace, the glory of Rome followed their triumphal car, which preceded the grandeur of the republic. The senate never reversed the terms imposed upon the conquered nations by these illustrious generals; but it should be remembered, that a single Roman was at once a soldier, a legislator and a financier—with us there must be three men to constitute a Roman. Sylla, covered with the blood of his fellow citizens, and actuated, as he was, by the blindest ambition, followed the footsteps of his predecessors. After having defeated Archelaus, lieutenant to Mithridates at Cheronea and Orchomena, he obliged him to pay 6 millions for the expences of the war. (2)

If the generals of the army had been allowed to give no account of the spoils of the enemy; if the consuls, prætors, ediles, and treasurers, had usurped those lands, which, by right of conquest, belonged to the state; would Rome have been in a condition to support so many wars? would she ever have risen to that pitch of grandeur which she attained? An unjust administration would have been the certain harbinger of the republic's ruin.

The Romans, intoxicated, as it were, with the love of glory, and the lust of dominion, never lost sight of the system, of constantly making war at the expence of their enemies. Sometimes they seized upon part of the territory of the conquered nation, whither they sent colonies of poor citizens, who served as garrisons, and secured their conquests. Sometimes they reduced kingdoms into Roman provinces; reserving to themselves part of the tribute, which the natives of the country usually paid their

H 2

kings.

(1) Diod. Sicul. lib. 28

Plutarch. in *Æmil.*(2) Plut. in *Vit. Sylla.*

kings. Besides these sums, the Romans compelled the conquered people to furnish a certain quantity of corn. Others were commanded to give them ships of war and transports. In this manner Sylla obliged Mithridates, at their interview at Dardana in Troada, to supply him with 70 galleys equipped. By this means the Roman armies, while out of the republic's territories, were scarce any expence to them. S. Portius Cato, who commanded the army in Spain, discharged the commissaries and purveyors of provisions, who were come from Rome to furnish the army with subsistence, saying to them : *Bellum seipsum alet*.

The name of *Friend*, and *ally of the Roman people*, granted upon terms equally dear and honourable to several people, was another great resource. Under the shadow of a distinction, which flattered their vanity, they were really tributaries to Rome, as she drew from them arms, ships, soldiers, mariners, and every kind of provision. Thus, by so greatly aggrandizing her empire, she at once increased the means of acquiring, and of preserving her acquisitions.

Before Pompey, the public revenues annually amounted only to 5000 myriads, or 50,000,000 drams ; which made about 25,000,000 livres. But the Romans derived from their subsequent conquests 800,000 myriads, or 81,500,000 drams, amounting to 40,750,000 livres. Pompey carried into the public treasury, as well in coin, as gold and silver moveables, 20,000 talents, that is to say, sixty millions. We may easily credit this fact, when it is considered, that Tigranes, King of Armenia alone, was condemned to pay the Romans 6000 talents, that is to say, eight millions for all the wrongs he had done them. This immense revenue was again greatly increased after the Gauls and Egypt became provinces to the Romans.

The public revenues at Rome differed in nature and quality, according to the alterations of the times, and the changes that took place in the republic. The property of the lands, called *Scriptura*, or *agrarium*; the right over the cattle that pastured in the domain; the gold, silver, and other metallic mines; what we now call the *Gabelles*, or excise upon salt; the *Péages* or tolls; *Douanes*, or customs; the 20th laid upon the sale of slaves, which was so considerable, that Cæsar having made an attempt on the public liberty, and pillaged the treasury of this part, drew from it 4136 pounds weight of gold, and 900,000 pounds of silver, making upwards of forty millions. (1)

Chronic. vol. I. ch. 2.

We

(1) I have no other voucher for these forty millions than Freulophe, Bishop of Lizieux, who has thought proper, without

The daily labour of men, horses, and the militia; in fine, the usual subsidy, which included the tax upon every hundred perches of land; the capitation, otherwise the real and personal tax; All these composed the annual revenues of the republic. But before we enter upon this subject, let us take a view of the chief object of the Roman finances, and the effects resulting from their good or bad administration.

All the different kinds of tributes, of which we have just been speaking, had two principal destinations under the Emperors, who all closely followed the system of Romulus, the most skilful warrior, and the greatest legislator of antiquity. The one was the payment of the public employments; and this part of the treasury was called *Ærarium*: The other, destined for the maintenance of the Prince, was called *Fiscum*. The *Fiscum* consisted chiefly of the estates of criminals, the inheritance of lunatics, bequests made to unworthy persons, hidden treasures discovered, the sale of things in litigation, penalties inflicted by contract for the emolument of the Prince, those decreed by the course of law, *de jure fisci*, but from the time that these different penalties were blended and confounded together: (as they are in France) which however did not happen till towards the decline of the Empire; the name of *Fiscum* was common to both, in the same manner as the word *Fisc* is used with us, for whatever is due to the king, under whatever name, or by what title soever.

The civil wars which were kindled between Cæsar and Pompey greatly diminished the revenue, which the republic drew from her colonies and provinces. The state continued to suffer the same evils during the wars between young Pompey and Cæsar, and between Augustus, and Brutus, and Cassius. The provinces saw themselves exposed to pillage, after the partition made between Augustus and Anthony. The luxury of the latter reduced many opulent nations to beggary. But the people were in extreme misery during that long war, in which Augustus

out quoting his authorities, to give an account of the sums that Cæsar took away; which he has done with as much precision, as if he had been treasurer to that Emperor. *Cæsar Romanam venit, negatamque sibi ex ærario pecuniam fractis foribus invasit, protulitque ex eo auri pondo quatuor millia centum triginta & sex, argenti pondo nonogenta millia.*

We have already observed, that the money deposited in the temple of Saturn was never touched but in great emergencies; nevertheless Cæsar, who had as little veneration for the gods, as for his country, broke open the doors of the temple, and stole the patrimony of the Roman People, before he violated their liberties.

us and Anthony contended for the empire of the world, which the one lost through love, and the other gained through Agrippa. Thus, in proportion as the Roman Empire encreased, oeconomy diminished, the public expences were augmented, and imposts were carried to such a pitch, that their burthen became insupportable.

The Roman People did not recover their former tranquillity till Augustus reigned alone. Filled with the project of making the Empire hereditary, he resolved to make it flourishing, and to enrich his people; persuaded, as he was, that their riches would be his own: and he never lost sight of these objects during a reign of 44 years. He suppressed the extraordinary tributes suggested by the avarice of the provincial magistrates, and to the encrease of which the licentiousness and disorder of the wars of the Triumvirate had still farther contributed. Without any regard to what had been practised before his time, he imposed a new tribute upon lands and persons, *tributa ordinaria instituit, alia in agros, alia in capita*. But to proceed, he caused that general enumeration to be made, which is mentioned in the beginning of the gospel of St. Luke, *erit editum à Cesare Augusto, ut describeretur universus orbis*; whence resulted admirable order, and an astonishing encrease of the revenues of the Empire.

This prince was not contented to make his people happy; he embellished the city with so much magnificence, that he had reason to boast, that he left Rome constructed entirely of marble, after having found it solely built of brick. Notwithstanding these expences, he left at his death immense sums, and deposited, in the hands of the Vestals, three volumes, which contained the detail of the whole empire, the number of troops, the state of the finances, the state of the public treasury and of the *fiscum*, and what taxes and tributes might still be exacted. He had also made out a list of the slaves, and those emancipated capable of being assessed. (1)

Tiberius joined oeconomy to great vices, and at his death there were found 202,000,000. of our money; a sum, that, in our age, could scarce be met with in the treasury of any Eastern king, and which Caligula, his successor, discovered the secret of squandering in less than a year: *non toto virtute anno absumpsit*. (2)

Nero, who took it into his head, that the whole world was Cæsar's patrimony, and that no extravagance whatever could exhaust the revenues he was capable of drawing from his dominions, dissipated all his predecessors' treasures in buildings and entertainments;

(1) Sueton. in vitâ Aug.

(2) Sueton. in vitâ Calig.

entertainments; all the immense riches of Agrippina, his mother, in pleasure and debauchery; and all he had amassed from the confiscation of Seneca's estate, in crimes and cruelties. (1)

The presents only, which he made to his unworthy favourites, amounted, according to the most probable accounts, to 92 millions of gold.

Extravagance makes princes necessitous, and necessity makes them rapacious and oppressive, and of consequence odious. Conscious that they are the objects of public detestation, they begin to fear and mistrust; and fear and mistrust engender cruelty. Such has ever been, and such will ever be, the usual progress of tyranny; as may be easily traced in the conduct of Caligula, Vitellius, Domitian, Julian, Caracalla, Heliogabalus, and many other monsters; whose actions history would blush to record, if the horrid aspect of vice did not inspire us with the love of virtue.

Would we take a still closer view of the fatal effects of prodigality in princes, it is only necessary to consider a moment the debaucheries and expences of Nero, Otho, and Vitellius. These three emperors, including the reign of Galba, reigned only 13 years and eight months. Nevertheless, Vespasian declared, on ascending the throne, that ten thousand millions of crowns would not restore the Empire to its pristine state; (2) so that, notwithstanding his natural lenity, he found himself under the disagreeable necessity of oppressing the people with taxes, to enable the Empire to defend itself. (3) He did not confine himself to the restoration of the imposts suppressed under Galba, to the imposing new and more grievous ones, and to the doubling the tributes of some provinces: He scrupled not even to sell the public employments to such as were candidates, or pardons to such as were accused of crimes, whether guilty or innocent. "He was compelled by necessity," says Suetonius, "to descend to meanness and rapine." What baseness! Is the apology of villains a plea for princes?

If we do not learn from history, that Vespasian discharged all the debts of the republic, it cannot, however, be doubted, that he, and his son Titus, during a reign of upwards of 12 years, were very assiduous in effecting a reformation.

But

(1) The confiscation of Seneca's estate amounted to the sum of seven millions of gold. *Ter millies H. S. Tacit Lib: 13. annal.*

(2) *Profectus quadragenties millies opus esse, ut respublica stare posset. Sueton in vitâ Vespas.*

(3) *Ad manubias et rapinas necessitate compulsus summâ ararii, fisci que inopia. Ibid.*

But Domitian overturned what they had done; and good order was never again restored till the time of Nerva, Trajan, and Antoninus Pius, who reigned about 60 years.

Antoninus Caracalla, son and successor of Alexander Severus, squandered amongst the soldiers the riches which his father had amassed with so much care, and pillaged the whole world.

Most of the Emperors were not contented with oppressing their people by excessive taxes; they often invented some, the very name of which was sufficient to inspire detestation, despair, and rebellion.

Nicephorus laid a tax upon smoke. Michael, the Paphlagonian, imposed one upon air. Chrysostom complains of it in saying, "the elements are sold us, the roads are tributary, and the air is venal. Spartian relates the same thing of Piscenius Niger; "his avarice was so great," says he, "that he levied taxes upon the air which we breathe; *non tantum pro solo, sed et pro cælo*

I shall not in this place enter into a detail of the whimsical or odious tributes engendered by the caprice and despotism of Emperors. Pliny and Xiphilinus tell us of taxes upon the shade of trees, upon funeral obsequies, upon each tile of a house, and upon urine. (1)

But we should make proper allowance for their hyperbolical and figurative style.

Justus Lipsius, who wrote in the 16th century, asserts, in his treatise *De magnitudine Romanæ*, that the annual revenue of the emperors amounted to 150 millions of crowns, with which they usually maintained 200 thousand infantry, 40,000 horse, 300 elephants,

(1) Vespasian is the prince to whom this extraordinary tax is ascribed. The impost must have had some such an origin as this. Sorrel is an herb that produces a very deep red, and must have been very precious before the discovery of cochineal. It was steeped in urine till it rotted, and the sediment formed the paste of this colour. Vespasian laid a tax upon this tincture. He was soon accused of having taxed urine itself—a ridiculous supposition, which is a greater slur upon the historians, who have transmitted it to us, than the prince to whom it is imputed. I respect the immortal works of the ancients; but I find that they were very little scrupulous in advancing the most absurd facts. Virgil believed that he had transformed an ox into bees, and from this marvellous discovery furnished all Egypt with subsistence. *Omnis in hac regio certam jacet arte salutem.* Georg. B. 4. Horace was terrified at Canidia who made the moon descend upon earth; and a weazel that crossed the way terrified a Roman consul more than the Macedonian Phalanx, or Mithridates' soldiers.

elephants, and 2000 chariots for battle. With regard to their naval force, he makes them amount to 2000 round ships, and 15,000 gallies. Such, says he, were the Roman forces under Adrian.

I have observed above, that Augustus, who was seated on the throne of the empire by the eloquence of Cicero, whom he abounded to Anthony's fury, by the blood of 5000 outlaws, by Agrippa's courage, and Mæcenas's prudence, substituted policy for barbarity, and enslaved Rome by gilding her fetters.

He left the administration of the provinces, which he called *Prætorials*, to the people and the senate. He took upon himself the defence of the frontiers, as being more difficult to guard, and these were called *presidial Provinces*. From this partition it followed, that the contributions of the *proconsular* or *prætorial* provinces came into the *Erarium*, or public treasury; and those of the *presidial* provinces in to the *Fiscum*. This shadow of the ancient government, this *flawish liberty*, which Augustus bequeathed to the Emilius's, the Fabians, and the Metellus's, continued under his successors, and produced the misery of the *prætorial* provinces. As the tributes and taxes belonged to the Roman people, and were carried to the public treasury, the *proconsular* *prætors* could allow of no delay or deduction; whilst the lieutenants of the prince required only a rescript to diminish or remit entirely the tributes and imposts of their departments. A dexterous policy! by which the subjects of the empire were more attached to the emperor, than to the empire itself.

We have already remarked, that the first Cæsars considered the quit-rent as the basis of the sub-divisions of the taxes. Rome under *Servius Tullius* contained only 80,000 inhabitants. *Vespasian*, who made the last *Lustrum*, found seven millions fit to bear arms, besides the troops actually on foot, amounting to 50 Legions and 57 Cohorts, that is to say 375,500 men, reckoning, according to the usual computation, 6826 men in a legion, of whom 6100 were foot, and 726 horsemen; and the cohort to consist of 500. These legions were all composed of Roman citizens, the allies forming the body of auxiliary troops.

Constantine, that shallow politician, and founder of a new Rome, pleased to have fixed the seat of his capital and his empire on the confines of Asia and Europe, and to enjoy a communication with three seas, changed the system of Augustus, and abandoned the provinces to the discretion of the prefects of the *Prætorium*. These levied real and personal supplies upon all the subjects, which were carried to the imperial treasury. The prince decided upon their reports; and the taxes were raised, diminished, or modified, according to their equity or injustice. These tributes consisted partly of provisions and ammunition,

such as cattle, grain, wine, forage, wood, &c. and partly of gold and silver. They levied their exacttions so scrupulously and and so rigidly according to the letter of the edict, that it was not allowed to give one kind for another ; that is to say, gold and silver for commodities, nor even silver for gold, or gold for silver ; an absurd procedure ! which evinced indeed the exact and punctual obedience which these masters of the world required ; but which in fact was only an intolerable grievance, and foretold that despotism which is ever sure to destroy itself.

Thus the wisdom and policy, the avarice and profligacy of the Roman emperors alternately made that mighty empire the seat of happiness or of misery, of tranquillity or disorder ; and as the number of bad princes far surpassed that of good ones, their conduct sapped the foundation of that formidable state, and opened the door to barbarous nations, who invaded and dismembered it.

Seconde Lettre de J. J. Rousseau, à Mr. D.

Monsieur, et cher Ami,

LA résolution que J'ai pris, il y a long-temps, de vivre inconnu et oublié des hommes dans un petit coin de ce monde de boue, ne m'empêche pas de vous adresser quelques-unes de mes lettres. Je connois les devoirs de la reconnaissance, devoirs aussi sacrés pour moi, que ceux de l'amitié ; nom commun parmi les traîtres mêmes : que le nombre en est grand ! Je ne veux point moraliser, de peur d'effaroucher des monstres. Le mal est universel, le remède inefficace, et la réforme impossible.

Rentre dans ton néant, homme foible, vain, et orgueilleux ? Souviens toi de ta poussière, et si ton origine t'humilie, pourquoi en perds-tu la vue ? monstre aveugle ! tu n'es grand qu'à tes propres yeux. Quitte tes maisons superbes, fors des villes ; si tu en as le courage, viens t'instruire dans ces bois : regarde ces animaux vils à tes yeux ; contemple, admire, et rougis. Point de rivalité parmi eux ; la nature est leur guide, est leur loi ; nature uniforme et innocente ; mais nature que tu fais l'apologiste de tes crimes : sur elle tu rejettes ces noirs forfaits, fruit de tes passions brutales et insensées. O homme ! que tu es vil à mes yeux ! prodige de méchanceté ! mais, voiti le comble de ton aveuglement ! tu ne rougis point.

Cher ami ! Je ne crains pas de vous decouvrir ainsi mes pensées le plus secretes : il y a encore sur la terre quelques mortels privilégiés, qui meritent ce tendre nom ; ce titre infiniment au dessus de tous ces vains titres qui s'arrogent la vanité humaine. Cher ami ! vous meritez mon cœur par vos procédés ; vous l'aviez
deja

déjà mérité par votre désintéressement et votre générosité : un dons si mince est peu digne de vous : puisse mon empressement en augmenter le prix !

Je foule aux pieds le faste des villes ; la retraite et la solitude ont pour moi des attraites plus puissantes que les lambris dorées des rois : palais de bouë, que la vanité a élevé, et qu'habite la vanité. Le vrai monarque est l'homme qui jouit de lui-même, fût ce au milieu des plus sombres forêts. Animaux sauvages, vous êtes les souverains des bois ; vous les habitez en maîtres : l'homme seul, ce monstre féroce, vient troubler votre repos : non content de faire la guerre à ses semblables, il vient, armé pour votre destruction ; vous tendre des pièges ; la malignité dans le cœur il vous arrache des biens qu'il ne vous a point procurés, mais que vous tenez de la nature ; vous, qui contens des glands ou des chardons, ne lui enviez pas ses trésors, souvent le fruit de ses rapines et des ses concussions.

Oui, cher ami ! Je lis les sentimens de votre cœur, de ce cœur si compatissant, et si plein de droiture et de bonne foi. Vous approuvez ma conduite, et Je me prévaux de votre approbation. Pylade généreux, je vivrois les années de Nestor avec un Oreste comme vous ; mais, vous savez, l'inconstance est le caractère de l'homme ; et tel est mon foible, Je l'avoue ; Je suis homme, et Je partage leur foiblesse de l'humanité. Eloquens pour donner les préceptes, les hommes sont les premiers pour les transgresser : ils se laissent entrainer dans le tourbillon de l'inconstance. Mille fois J'ai fait des protestations, mille fois Je les ai violées. Je reconnois mes erreurs ; J'en gémis : un moment après Je retombe dans des nouvelles. Faudroit-il s'enorgueillir, quand il y a tant de sujet de s'humilier ?

O mon ami ! vous voyez, Je conviens de mes foiblesse, Je ne les dissimule pas : mais la pitié, la tendre pitié, sera toujours ma vertu favorite. Je sais compatir ; mais Je crains les hommes et leurs noirs complots : Je me mets à l'abri du bourdonnement de ces insectes acharnés, qui ne cherchent qu'à piquer, mordre, et succer votre substance pour engraisser leur maigreur naturelle. Je suis les hommes sans les hair, Je ne hais que leur vices : et pourquoi les aimerois-je ? Ils sont si haissables.

Long-temps, et peut-être trop long-temps, on a déclamé contre la perfidie, la mauvaise-foi, la trahison ; monstres nés dans la société ; nourris, chéris, entretenus par elle. Inconéquens dans leurs raisonnemens et dans leurs procédés, les hommes sont venus porter leurs encens aux débris de ces idoles qu'ils venoient de briser ; et tachés de les avoir détruits d'un main, ils les ont redressés de l'autre, et leur ont rendu tout leur culte. Voilà l'homme, voilà cet être qui dans sa folie se fait la prière à l'animal, et ose dire insolemment : « J'ai la raison qui me guide. »

Monstre ! prodige de bassesse, de ténèbres et de méchanceté, pourquoi n'en fait-tu pas usage ? Glorifie-toi tant que tu voudras, tes misères en sont elles moins réelles ?

O mon ami ! Je me lasse de vous écrire des vérités si humiliantes pour l'humanité, et peut-être fais-je un abus de votre patience : mais non ; Je ne vous rends pas justice. Je vous connois trop pour me méfier de votre complaisance. Adieu, recevez mes très humble salutations.

J. J. ROUSSEAU.

TRANSLATION.

Second Letter from Mr. J. J. Rousseau, to Mr. D.

Dear Sir,

THOUGH I have long since formed a resolution to live in a narrow corner of this heap of dirt, unknown to the world, and forgot by it ; I will yet take the liberty of addressing to you a few of my letters. I know the ties of gratitude, ties, in my opinion, as sacred as those of friendship ; a word common even among traitors. How great is the number of these miscreants ! I will not talk like a moralist, lest I should frighten away the monsters. The evil is general, the remedy ineffectual, and a reformation impossible.

Consider, weak, vain, and imperious man ! consider thy own insignificance, thy own nothingness ! remember the dust whence thou art sprung ; and if the view of thy origin fills thee with humility ; why, let me ask thee, dost thou ever lose sight of it ? blind monster ! thou art great only in thine own eyes. Quit thy proud palaces, withdraw from the bustle of populous cities ; come, if thou hast courage, come, and learn wisdom in these woods ! Behold those animals, vile indeed, in thy estimation ! but behold and admire them, and be covered thyself with shame. Amongst them there prevails no rivalry ; nature is their guide and their law, uniform and innocent nature ; but that same nature, which thou alledgeest in excuse of thy crimes : upon her thou throwest the blame of all those black and atrocious deeds, which proceed only from thy own headstrong and brutal passions. Oh ! man, how contemptible art thou in my eyes ! I thou monster of iniquity ! But, such is thy incurable blindness, thou art not ashamed of thy own wickedness.

You see, my dear friend, I am not afraid to discover to you, my most secret thoughts. There are still in the world some select spirits, who deserve that tender appellation, that honourable title, infinitely preferable to all those vain titles, which human vanity hath arrogated to itself. You deserve, my dear friend, by your ingenuous conduct, the warmest wishes of my heart ;

heart; you have already deserved them by your disinterestedness and generosity. A present so small is little worthy of your acceptance; may my zeal and sincerity add value to the gift.

I look down with disdain upon the pride of cities. To me a retired and solitary life hath charms more attractive than the gilded palaces of kings; palaces of dirt, erected by vanity, and inhabited by vanity. The true monarch, is he who enjoys himself, were it in the midst of the most gloomy forests. To you, ye wild beasts, to you of right belongs the sovereignty of the woods: you possess them as masters. 'Tis man alone, that cruel monster, that troubles your repose. Not satisfied with making war upon his equals, he comes armed for your destruction; for you he lays snares, and with a heart full of malice, he robs you of those blessings, which he hath not procured for you, but which you derive from nature; you, who, content with acorns or thistles, envy him not his treasures, frequently the fruit of his rapine and extortion.

Yes, my dear friend, I can easily read the sentiments of your heart; of that heart, so tender, so sincere and virtuous. You approve my conduct, and I am proud of your approbation. Generous Pylades! I could live the age of Nestor with such an Orestes as you; but inconstancy, you know, is the characteristic of man; and such, I own, is my foible. I am a man, and, of consequence, am subject to the failings of humanity. Eloquent in delivering the most excellent precepts, men are themselves the first to transgress them: they suffer themselves to be hurried away by the whirlwind of inconstancy. A thousand times have I made vows; a thousand times have I broken them. I confess my faults; I repent of them; and next moment I fall into new ones. With so many causes for humility and abasement, ought any one in this world to be puffed up with pride? You see, my friend, I acknowledge my weakness, and do not dissemble it; but pity, tender pity, shall always be my favourite virtue. I could suit my temper to the humours of the world: but I dread men, and their dark designs; and I therefore withdraw myself from the noise of those venomous insects, who want only to sting and bite you, and to suck your blood, to fatten their own leanness. I fly men without hating them: I only hate their vices; and hateful as these are, why should I love them?

Long, perhaps too long, have philosophers declaimed against perfidy, dishonesty, treachery; monsters bred in society; nourished, cherished, and encouraged in society. Overturning their reasonings by the course of their actions, men have offered incense to the ruins of those idols, which they had just been destroying; and sorry, it would seem, for having demolished them
with

with one hand, they have reared them up with the other, and have paid them all their worship. Such is man; such is that being, who, with the most ridiculous vanity, prefers himself to other animals, and dares insolently say, "I have reason for my guide." Why, thou monster! thou odious compound of baseness, of ignorance, and wickedness, why then dost thou not make use of it? Exalt thyself as much as thou wilt, thy misery is not on that account the less real.

I am weary, my dear friend, of writing to you, truths so mortifying to humanity; and, perhaps, at the same time I abuse your patience; but this is a suspicion, which, without doing you injustice, I can by no means entertain. I know you too well to doubt your complaisance. Adieu, Sir; accept my most humble respects.

J. J. ROUSSEAU.

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW OF NEW BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, &c.

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THIS Poem is written by the author of the New Bath Guide, and is not unworthy of that classical pen. There runs throughout the whole a vein of satire and humour, which is almost entirely new, and which, to some readers cannot fail of furnishing an agreeable entertainment.

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A Variety of letters, and *Extracts* of letters, are here collected together, with a view, as it should seem, of serving the cause of Archibald Douglas, Esq; and some other papers are annexed, which have the appearance of contributing to the same purpose.

The honest Electors Proposal for rendering the Votes of all Constituents throughout the Kingdom free and independent. 8vo. 1s. Almon.

THE proposal is by ballot, as follows: "On the day of election, let there be as many boxes provided as there are candidates who offer themselves: Let these boxes have each a strong lock and key to them: let the name of one candidate be written or painted on the top of one of them, and so on with the rest: And lastly, let there be a round hole cut in the lid of each of them, sufficient to admit a small ball to be dropped through

through it into the box : Let these boxes then, so fitted up, be placed in a private room, with a curtain before the door on the inside, and let each voter, when it is his turn to go into that room, which must be done by himself alone, take with him, from a promiscuous heap, two balls, since he has two votes to give, (or as many balls as votes) and let him drop those two balls through the lids of those two boxes, on which are written or painted the names of those candidates for whom he would be willing to give his vote : And as it may sometimes so happen, that the voter himself should not be able to read, (as thousands of us cannot) then, in such a case, let some one who can read, a wife, a son, or a daughter, a brother, a neighbour, or a friend, on whom he can depend for secrecy, be permitted to go into the room along with him, to inform him which are the boxes that contain the names of his favourite candidates ; and then, having disposed of his two balls, let him come out again, and depart in peace of mind to his own home, without fear or apprehension of being ruined for having voted according to his conscience. Then, when every one of the voters have thus distributed their balls according to the above-mentioned method, let all the boxes be brought, with solemn procession, into the public hall, where every one of the candidates shall be present, and there let them be unlocked before the proper officers ; and let the number of balls in each of them be exactly taken ; and those two candidates who have the majority of balls in their boxes, be declared the two members duly elected for this borough.

“ The same method might likewise be practiced in both houses of parliament ; with this only difference, that there need not be provided any more than three boxes for them ; the first for the *Yea's*, and the second for the *No's* ; and the third (which should be called the *Blank-box*) to contain the superfluous balls that need not be counted. Let then every member, at the time of voting, take from a promiscuous heap two *ivory balls*, the one *white*, and the other *black* ; and when he enters the room (defended likewise by a noble curtain) where the boxes are placed, let him drop the *white-ball* into the *yea-box* ; or the *black-ball* into the *no-box* ; and dispose of the other ball into the *blank-box*, and the whole operation is completed.”

Letters to married Women. 12mo.. 3s 6d. Kearsly.

THE observations and the rules contained in this Book, are in general well known. To experienced ladies, it will therefore be of little use : But ladies newly married, if they can spare time from modern luxuries and pleasures, to read these letters, may probably find many useful hints, which their own good sense may teach them to improve.

A Six Weeks Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales, &c. 8vo. Nicoll.

THE design of this book is good: the execution is but indifferent. In many places it is obvious the author has not stopped long enough to be accurately and perfectly informed of the facts he asserts. The principal subjects which he treats, are the present state of agriculture and manufactures; the different methods of cultivating the soil; the success attending some late experiments on grasses; the various prices of labour and provisions; and the state of the working poor. In many of which he has several useful hints, and some of them worthy of attention; but in his calculations he is sometimes erroneous: for instance, who will credit what he asserts, that some of the Norfolk farmers clear sometimes to 3000 l. a year from a farm of 1100 acres.

Thoughts, Essays, and Maxims, chiefly Religious and Political. By Charles Howard, of Greystock, in Cumberland. 12mo. 2s. 6d. Lewis.

THE style in general is but indifferent, and many of the thoughts are not new. Yet upon the whole is not an unentertaining publication, and there are some pertinent remarks,

Britannia. A Poem. 4to. 3s. 6d. Millar, &c.

Nonsense!

Cooper's Well. A Fragment, written by the Hon. Sir John Denham. 4to. 1s. 6d. Moran.

IF this fragment be really Sir John Denham's, it is much inferior to his other pieces: the versification is very indifferent; and the whole Poem consists of a low, obscene pun.

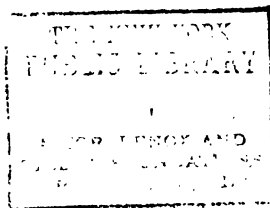
The Widow's Wife. A Comedy. Acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane. By W. Kenrick. 8vo. 1s. 6d. T. Davies, &c. Languid, dull and contemptible!

The Royal Merchant, an opera. Founded on Beaumont and Fletcher. Performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent-garden. 8vo. 1s. 6d. Griffin.

Beaumont and Fletcher's Comedy of the Royal Merchant, is here turned into an Opera, and rendered ridiculous. The Comedy has some merit, the Opera has none: Surely the managers of our theatres are dreaming, when they receive such stuff into their houses.

The Cheerful Companion; or Songster's Pocket Book. 12mo. 3s. Kearsley.

A Collection of songs; to several of which is annexed the music. The editor tells us that this collection contains the most approved songs in the English language: He is, however, greatly mistaken; for he has omitted many better songs than any which he has inserted.



The Waistcoat.



Yet be not sad, good Brothers
For, to Speak the Truth, it very well becomes you.
Shakespeare

T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER.

For FEBRUARY, 1768.

NUMBER X.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

I Believe it must give some degree of provocation even to men of the most patient spirit, when they reflect on the *present divided jangling state of our ministry*; and, indeed, the case has been *the same* for some years backward. We have undoubtedly many persons of great ability in the kingdom, but scarce any two of them, *of late*, can be prevailed upon to act in concert with each other, and, from a generous emulation, strive who shall most exert themselves for the good of the public; nay, unless every person, who fancies himself of significance in the state, can come into power upon his own conditions, by dragging up his whole train of friends and dependants along with him, he resolves not to act at all; nay, makes it a point of honour to throw every obstruction (whether right or wrong) in the way of the governing party. But tho' this intolerant temper thus predominates among our great men universally with regard to the communication of power; yet, never were they more liberal to each other in the distribution of the public money. The persons who are in, are always ready to indulge those who are out, in almost whatever pensions, and for whatever continuance they chuse, provided they give them no disturbance in their administration; and of course they expect, and indeed receive, the same indulgencies from their opponents, when

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these

these happen to be uppermost in their turn; and, on this account, I think we may affirm with confidence, that, be a ministry at any time ever so bad (supposing the kingdom in a state of peace) it is more for its interest to have this bad ministry continued, than changed for one that is a little better, since every change most certainly throws an additional load upon the already-burthened nation, by the accumulation of *fresh pensions*, some of them indeed *ad libitum*, but most of them *for life*, and many of them with the reversionary grant to posterity, perhaps, not only *natis natorum*, but even to those *qui nascuntur ab illis*; and were an exact computation to be made of all the annual sums paid on this score to the secret, as well as the known, band of these noble and gentlemen-pensioners (including, at the same time, the income of all those unnecessary and new-invented places, which have been created only to form a court dependance) I believe the amount of them would be more than the entire revenue of our old English kings some few centuries backward: and yet, with all this inconceivable profusion, the modish court-word is, and has been, *OECONOMY*, though I know not whether it has been put in practice in one single instance, except in the reduction of the expences of the kitchen, in the saying, perhaps, of some few pounds of butter, and pecks of coal. It was a noble saying, I think, of lord Sunderland in the time of queen Anne, when he was offered a pension on being turned out of place, that if he was no longer permitted to serve his country, he was resolved not to pillage it. Our great men at present seem determined to reverse his lordship's sentiment, as scarce any of them shew the least inclination to serve it, but all of them a strong propensity to share in its pillage: I must except the old generous duke of N—e, who, from the same odd romantic turn of thinking, had the ill judgment lately to tread in lord Sunderland's steps; but I do not find that his example has had the least influence, or engaged a single person to imitate him; so that we may apply to him, with propriety, what Mr. Cowley says of Pindar:

—*Pindar is imitable by none;*

The Phoenix Pindar is a vast species alone—

And as his grace is at present the sole Phoenix, I imagine he must be content to remain so, and still continue to form a whimsical species by himself, though I think he has no reason to blush on account of his singularity in this respect. I have not the vanity, Mr. Almon, to imagine, that the inclosed copy of verses will have more effect on those, for whom it is designed,

designed, than his grace's example; nor do I expect, that it will induce a single person to resign his present pension, or reject the offer of one for the future: however, let us testify our abhorrence of this accursed prevailing practice, and, though we must despair of ever amending it, yet let us endeavour at least to brand it with the infamy it deserves. If you think that I have caught any thing of the spirit and humour of that celebrated genius whom I profess to imitate, I doubt not but you will licence it with an immediate imprimatur.

I am, Sir, your's,

T. L.

The State-Coach, a Tale: in imitation of the manner of Dr. Swift.

ONCE on a time a grand lord-may'r
(No matter when, no matter where)
Kept a huge pompous coach of state
Of most enormous bulk and weight;
And on the times of public joy,
To wheel about the pond'rous toy,
He kept beside a noble string
Of horses, fit to draw a king;
All of high blood, all beasts of breeding,
But vicious from excess of feeding;
Of course intractable and heady,
Yet in one point perversely steady,
Viz. each good steed was true and hearty
To his own interest and his party;
Nay, this curs'd spirit had possess'd
To such degree each sturdy beast,
That not a single chuff would move
From threats or soothing-fear or love,
Unless in partnership he drew
With those of his confederate crew,
Though thus the clumsy and the clever,
Ill-pair'd oft hobbled on together.

Hence, when the coach was order'd out,
Buck would refuse to match with Stout,
At least one inch would not proceed
Unless impetuous Di'mond led,
Who when of late our grand premier,
And then uncheck'd in his career,
While he tugg'd on the vast machine
O'er rough and smooth, through thick and thin,

Would often with their rapid turn
 Make the wheels creak and axle burn ;
 Yet, give the haughty devil his due,
 Though bold his quarterings, they were true :
 Yes, let us not his skill disparage,
 He never once o'erlet the carriage,
 Though oft he whirl'd it one would think
 Just o'er the pitfall's headlong brink ;
 While at each hair-breadth 'scape, his foes
 Would cry, there, there, by G-d, it goes !
 And as stiff Buck would ne'er submit
 But on these terms to champ the bit,
 Stout in return was full as fullen,
 Nor the same hardness would he pull in,
 Unless by cautious Duke preceded,
 Or by pacific Sawney headed :
 The body-coachman hence unable
 To rule the refractory stable,
 Was forc'd to leave the saucy brutes
 To terminate their own disputes ;
 And when they deign'd to wear the traces,
 Chuse their own partners and their places ;
 But, tir'd themselves with these distractions,
 Resolv'd at last the several factions
 (For in their anger all had wit)
 Some terms of union to admit,
 Which, that more firmly they might bind,
 Drawn in this form by all were sign'd :
 We, the contracting steeds, (express
 Here was the name of each prime beast,
 As Di'mond, Sawney, Duke) however
 Determin'd not to work together,
 Yet by these presents are agreed,
 Together peaceably to feed :
 On this account then, (work or play)
 Let each receive his 'custom'd pay :
 Confirm we by concurring votes
 To each his daily peck of oats :
 Besides, omit we by no means
 Proportion'd quantities of beans ;
 Nor yet warm mashies when we chuse 'em,
 Nor Bracken's balls when pleas'd to use 'em ;
 For as 'tis likely from full feeding,
 At times, diseases may be breeding,

'Tis right, for every horse that is sick,
Who finds the food should find the physic.
These previous articles now clos'd,
Here prudent Di'mond interpos'd,
Long fam'd for his contempt of self,
And views which center'd not in self,
"How chang'd at present?" (or no more
Wears he that mask which once he wore.)
Quoth he, (wrapp'd round with many a clout
His greasy heels, the horses' gout)
"Snug now ourselves and our dependants,
Shall we neglect our dear descendants?
Nay e'en from scripture we should learn,
For our own households due concern;
Left we incur then, to our shame,
Of infidels th' accursed name,
Provide we next (if such your will is)
For all our present colts and fillies;
No matter, though for this supply
We drain our master's coffers dry:
Stretch we the grant too, if ye please,
E'en to the future colts of these;
Then to their coltlings in entail,
Till issue of such issue fail:
'Well, bullies, are you all content?"
Each steed here snorted his assent;
And, more t'express their joy of heart,
All let at once th' obstreperous f—t;
The mews, through all its spacious round,
Re-echo'd to th' unmanner'd sound;
And now adjusted their pretensions,
And thus secur'd their long-breath'd pensions,
Like porkers fattening in the sty,
On their fat rumps at ease they lie;
Uplitter'd to their ears in straw,
Yet not a single beast will draw.

Dogs! to reduce you all to reason,
I wish, at least, for some short season,
That in your present master's stead,
Too meek to tame so rough a breed,
Too mild to curb your factious spirit,
Too good to treat you as ye merit,
Stern boisterous Cromwell from the dead,
Or bluff old Hall would lift his head,

That

96 *Extract from a Dedication to King Will. III.*

That I might see you bound and skip
Beneath their disciplining whip ;
That I might see your pamper'd hides
Flogg'd, 'till from out your furrow'd sides
Spun, in each part, the fizy blood,
Too rich from sloth and copious food ;
That thus let out at all these sluices,
It may purge off its vicious juices ;
While I should hear you, at each jerk,
Cry, lash no more, we'll work, we'll work.

TO the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

Your publications bespeak you a friend to your country : if you really are so, it will be manifest to some of your friends by your reprinting the following at this juncture.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

Extract from a Dedication to King William III.

WHEN our prince's palace is on fire, and his sacred person in the midst of the flames, the meanest of his subjects hath the privilege to give him warning of his danger : and this, I am afraid, Sir, is too near our case, or I would not have assumed the boldness to disturb your people, or have plac'd myself so disadvantageously before your Majesty, as I must expect to appear under the character of a public censor of your ministers. I know the common answer to these kinds of complaints, is, that it is more easy to find faults than remedies : If you please, Sir, we will consider of remedies : first, be pleas'd to remove from your person, councils, and offices of trust, men bred up and confirm'd in principles destructive to our English government, and who rob you of the affections of your faithful subjects at home.

An English king is the greatest monarch upon earth; when he reigns in the hearts of his subjects ; and all other methods to power and greatness have been found ineffectual in England.

Purgatives will not alone perfect the cure of your government and restore it to perfect health ; you must make use of alteratives too ; there must be a change of measures, as well as a discharge of men : and the method which I humbly offer is this, first, to make the interest of England your chief aim, and since
you

Money paid for the Service of the Navy in 1767. 71

You are an English king, to become entirely an Englishman. In the next place, Sir, let me desire you to avoid concerning yourself in elections of members in parliament, or influencing them when chosen; the parliament is a sacred part of the English constitution, and, like the Israelites ark of old, is not to be touched profanely: therefore, Sir, it will be your true interest to leave the people free to their choice, and the members free to their opinion when chosen. It still is fresh in our memories, how much the practices of the late reigns, in corrupting elections, and clofeting members of parliament, enraged the nation, and they had reason to resent it. All these things, therefore, are to be most carefully avoided by your Majesty. You must by no means, Sir, give this occasion of clamour and recrimination to your enemies; but be pleased to follow this general rule, always to beware of the ministers, and avoid the schemes and councils of K. Charles and K. James's government; and then you can scarce err; for whatever is opposite to their principles and practices, is the direct road to your security and success.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The following is a paper of accounts relative to the expenditure of some part of the public money, and may, therefore, not be unworthy of a place in the Political Register.

Account of money paid at the Exchequer for the service of the Navy in the year 1767.

TO pay the bills registered on the course of the navy, from the 1st of January to the 31st of August 1766, and interest due thereon		450,000	0	0
To pay the salaries and wages due to the officers, artificers, workmen, labourers, &c. employed in his Majesty's yards, for one year to Christmas 1766		311,559	17	4
To pay off ships, and to carry on the recalls of ships books		235,000	0	0
To defray the charge of subsisting his Majesty's marine forces for the year 1767		71,249	15	0
To pay flag, table-money, &c. to the commanders in his Majesty's fleet		14,000	0	0
Carried over		1,081,809	12	4

71 *Money paid for the Service of the Navy in 1767.*

	Brought forward	1,081,809	12	4
To pay one year's salary from Michaelmas 1766 to Michaelmas 1767, to the lords-commissioners of the admiralty, the treasurer and other commissioners of the navy, the commissioners for sick and hurt seamen, their secretaries, clerks, &c. &c.		34,565	0	0
To pay one year's half-pay to sea-officers from the 1st of July 1766 to the 30th of June 1767		85,100	0	0
To pay one year's half-pay to the induced officers of his Majesty's marine forces, from the 1st of July 1766, to the 30th of June 1767		16,266	12	0
To pay one year's pensions to disabled and superannuated sea-officers, from Midsummer 1766, to Midsummer 1767		25,180	0	0
To pay one year's pensions to the superannuated shipwrights, &c. of his Majesty's yards to Christmas, 1767		1,300	16	9
To pay one year's pensions to the poor cripples who depend on the chest at Chatham		23,000	0	0
To pay his Majesty's bounty to the chaplains of the navy for the year 1766		1,231	17	6
For the service of Greenwich hospital		20,000	0	0
To pay for piloting his Majesty's ships		3,100	0	0
To pay his Majesty's allowance of free-gift, for the year 1766, to the surgeons of the navy, to enable them to furnish their chests with medicines		1,495	6	0
To pay for provisions, necessaries, medicines, &c. for his Majesty's royal naval hospitals		18,000	0	0
To pay sick quarters		1,450	0	0
To pay for the subsistence of prisoners of war maintained in the West-Indies		809	19	3
To pay the arrears of subsistence for French neutrals in England		30	0	0
To pay imposts to naval officers for defraying the contingent charges of his Majesty's yards, &c. bills of exchange drawn from abroad for repairs, provisions and necessaries for his Majesty's ships, and other contingencies		102,900	0	0
		1,416,239	3	10
			Of	

Account of the Arrears of the Civil List. 73

Of which,		
Out of the sinking fund, anno 1767	433,373	7 9
— exchequer bills of the land-tax, 1766	38,411	1 6½
— ditto ————— ditto, 1767	6,8300	0 0
— ditto ————— malt duty, 1767	350,922	14 8½
— ditto for the service of the year 1767,		
charged on the supplies anno 1768 —	10,000	0 0
— ditto placed as cash, and charged		
on the land-tax, 1767 —————	21,000	0 0
— contributions to annuities, anno 1767	362,950	0 6½
— ditto ————— to a lottery, anno 1767	110,070	8 9
— money arisen by the sale of French		
prizes taken before the declaration of the		
late war —————	20,855	17 4
— money received for the maintenance of		
the late French prisoners of war ———	62,155	13 2½
<hr/>		
	£. 1,416,239	3 10

TO THE EDITOR OF THE POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The arrears of the Civil-List having been lately the subject of much private disputation, I have sent you a few FACTS, upon which your readers will make their own reflections.

THOSE arrears are at present allowed, by all well-informed persons, to amount at least to *six hundred thousand pounds!*

At the time of the late K's death, there was a balance in the Exchequer due to the crown of *one hundred and eighteen thousand pounds* in cash.

The D. of N. left more than that balance when he was turned out.

The Favourite succeeded; and, if we will believe the Scots, they say from him came *Oeconomy*.

When Mr. G. came to the head of the Treasury, the OUT-GOINGS, upon the establishment, exceeded the INCOME *ninety thousand pounds* per annum: which, when he was turned out, he had reduced to *thirty thousand*.

The friends of the M. of R. say, that no addition was made to the out goings whilst he was in office.

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To

To whom then is this enormous debt to be ascribed? to the Favourite, or to the late Great Commoner? or to both?

There is a paragraph in a pamphlet published by yourself in the year 1764, with which I shall conclude this short letter:

“ With a civil-list of no less than *eight hundred thousand pounds* per annum, the crown revenues of all our conquests, *all* the revenues, and *all* the interest of the late king’s riches in Germany, now flowing in with the arrears, in what light of splendor does our court appear in the eyes of the nation—in the eyes of Europe? I will not appeal to enumerations which I am ashamed to recapitulate, and which a very *short* memory, indeed, can recollect.”

In a Postscript, the author of the above letter recommends to the Editor, the republication of Mr. Shippen’s speech in 1727, against Sir Robert Walpole’s proposal for increasing the Civil-List Revenue; and an *exact* copy having been, with some difficulty, procured, (transcribed from the authentic copy taken at the time) it here follows:

A speech against Sir Robert Walpole’s proposal for increasing the Civil-List Revenue, as it was delivered in the House of Commons, on the 3d of July 1727, by William Shippen, esq;

S I R,

I Agree with the honourable person who spoke first, That on his Majesty’s happy accession to the throne, there ought to be no other contention amongst us, than who should most contribute to his service, than who should express their duty and loyalty in the most respectful and the most extensive manner. But then, I hope he will agree with me, that this is to be done, with some regard to those we represent: That this is to be done, consistent with the trust reposed in us, consistent with that frugality which this House is bound to use, whenever the crown is pleased to call upon it, to exercise its great power of giving money.

Now, notwithstanding what has been urged, I think we shall so far depart from this rule of frugality, as we exceed the revenue granted to his late Majesty, whether that exceeding shall amount yearly to ninety-three thousand pounds, as computed at the highest by the honourable person, or to above an hundred and thirty thousand pounds, as I have seen it

it more truly computed by another. For I remember very well, that the yearly sum of seven hundred thousand pounds (though now thought too little) was not obtained for his late Majesty, without a long and solemn debate; and it was allowed by every one who contended for it, to be an *ample royal revenue*. Nor was it asked inconsiderately, and on a sudden; it was asked on mature deliberation, after the Queen's civil-list branches were found deficient; it was asked, after many computations had been made of every charge requisite to support the honour and dignity of the crown, and to maintain the present royal family: it was asked, after duly weighing what provision would be sufficient to answer all the ordinary and extraordinary occasions of the civil government, what would be sufficient to answer *all proper augmentations of salaries, all reasonable and charitable pensions, all secret services at home and abroad*, necessary to carry on a just and wise administration: It was asked by the honourable person himself, and others, who were entering into great employments, who were going to taste of the royal bounty, and who, therefore, could not possibly be suspected to have any design of cramping his Majesty, by a too contracted and narrow revenue.

Nor does the late alteration in the royal family call for any increase of expence. For if the establishment for the Queen should be enlarged, whose distinguished character, and many princely virtues (taken notice of in your address) entitle her to all degrees of grandeur which any former Queen-Consort ever enjoyed; I say, if her establishment should be enlarged, I presume the establishment of prince Frederick will be much inferior to that settled on his present Majesty, when Prince of Wales. Besides, our ardent wishes for his Majesty's constant residence in these kingdoms, and his royal intentions of making us a great and happy people, give us hopes, that many personal, many particular expences in the late reign, especially those for frequent journies to Hanover, will be discontinued, and entirely cease.

Nor is it any objection to the reasoning of that time, when the seven hundred thousand pounds were granted to the late king, or to the computations then made, that this sum is said to have been found, by the experience of past times, not to be answerable to the necessities of the civil government.

For this experience could not be found in the Queen's reign, because her civil-list branches seldom amounted to six hundred thousand pounds, commonly to about five hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and sometimes to a very little above five hundred thousand pounds, as appears by ac-

counts formerly laid before this house, and I will not suppose those accounts, which were brought from the Treasury, to be otherwise than true, in regard to my honourable friend—I ask pardon—I should have said, the honourable person, for there is no friendship betwixt us. But he must give me leave to observe, that when he asserts, her civil-list branches amounted to above seven hundred thousand pounds yearly, he can only mean the gross, and not the neat produce, which is a very uncandid and fallacious way of arguing.

Though her revenues were so low, yet she called upon her parliament but once, in a reign of above thirteen years, to pay the debts contracted in her civil government; and it is a justice due to the memory of that excellent princess, to remind gentlemen of the unparalleled instances of her piety and generosity, which occasioned those debts. She gave the first-fruits and tenths, arising now (as the honourable person says) to nineteen thousand pounds a year, for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy. She gave five thousand pounds a year out of the post-office to the duke of Marlborough: she suffered seven hundred pounds a week to be likewise charged on the post-office, for the public service, and, by that concession, lost a vast sum; the additional duty then producing only eight thousand pounds a year. She gave several hundred thousand pounds for building the castle of Blenheim. She allowed prince Charles of Denmark four thousand pounds a year. She sustained great losses by the tin-contract. She supported the poor Palatines. These, with many other royal bounties *, (which escape my present remembrance) were the reasons that brought her under a necessity of asking for five hundred thousand pounds. But she was so sensible of the inconvenience, and so determined never to apply to her parliament again in the like manner, that she ordered a considerable reduction to be made of her civil government expenses. I have seen a scheme of that reduction, as it was actually settled a little before her death, and intended to commence the Lady-day following. 'Twould be tedious to go through all the particular articles of it, and I will only name three or four. The cofferer's-office payments were reduced from eighty-five thousand pounds to seventy-five thousand. The allowances for foreign ministers, from seventy-five thousand to thirty thousand. Pensions and bounties, from eighty-seven thousand four hundred and ninety odd pounds, to sixty thousand. Secret services, from twenty-seven thousand pounds to twenty thousand; a sum *surprisingly small! when compared with the LATE disbursements on that head.* In short, the whole yearly

* She gave an hundred thousand pounds to the uses of the war.

yearly expences were designed to be reduced to four hundred fifty-nine thousand nine hundred forty-one pounds; and that would have been done, without eclipsing the glory of the crown, which some gentlemen so roundly affirm cannot *now* be maintained under almost a double appointment.

From hence it appears plainly, that this argument of the experience of past times, can have no reference to the Queen's reign. It must therefore be applied, though put in the plural number, to the late administration only; and I confess, if the same management was to be continued, if the same ministers were to be again employed, a million a year would not be sufficient to carry on the exorbitant expences, so often, and so justly complained of in this house. For it is notorious, it is fresh in all our memories, that besides the yearly seven hundred thousand pounds, there have been many occasional taxes, many excessive sums raised, and they have been all sunk in **THAT BOTTOMLESS GULF OF SECRET SERVICE**. First, the memorable two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were raised (in defiance of the ancient parliamentary methods) to secure us from the apprehensions of a Swedish invasion. Then the two insurance-offices were erected in as irregular a manner, by a bill brought into this house (at the latter end of a session, and after the committee of supply had been closed) by the honourable person, on his return into power, and those bubbles payed near three hundred thousand pounds for their charters. Then a new scene of affairs opening in Sweden, changed our enmity into an alliance; there was a subsidy of seventy-two thousand pounds implicitly granted to make good some secret bargain and engagement with that crown. At the same time, near twenty-four thousand pounds were given for burning two merchant ships arrived from infected places. But though the goods, as well as the ships, were payed for by this house, that they might (without injury to the owners) be destroyed for the public safety, yet most of them were privately conveyed into the counties adjacent to the port where the ships lay, and sold there. Then soon after a sum of five hundred thousand pounds was demanded and granted for the payment of the civil-list debts: on which occasion his late Majesty declared in his message, that he was resolved to cause a retrenchment to be made of his expences for the future. But notwithstanding that resolution, in less than four years (the necessities of the government having rendered the promised retrenchment impracticable) there was a new demand, and a new grant of five hundred thousand pounds more, to discharge
new

new incumbrances. I might mention too the Spanish ships which were taken in the famous Mediterranean sea-fight, and (as we have reason to believe) sold for a considerable sum of money. Nor is it possible to forget the hundred and twenty thousand pounds, which we could only be told the last session (in a general unexplained article) were secretly disposed of, for the public utility, for the conservation of the peace of Europe, and for the security of the commerce and navigation of Great-Britain.

After all these and other extraordinary supplies (I am informed) there yet remains A DEBT IN THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF ABOVE SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS! If so, surely there must have been a *most egregious neglect of duty*, to say no worse; there must have been a *strange spirit of extravagance* somewhere, or such immense sums could never have been so soon, so insensibly squandered away. And it is amazing, *this extravagance should happen under the conduct of persons pretending to surpass all their predecessors in the knowledge and care of the public revenue*: but we are not to wonder, that the world has been *very free in its censures*, since none of these sums have been accounted for, since they have been employed in *services not fit to be owned*. None but those who were *in the secret*, and who had the *disposal* of them, can refute the *reflections* that are made without doors, not only on *the ministry*, but even on *both houses of parliament*.—I must say no more—but I heartily wish, that time (the great discoverer of hidden truths, and concealed iniquities) may produce a *list* of all *such* (if any such there were) who have been perverted from their *public duty*, by *private pensions*; who have been *the hired slaves, and the corrupt instruments of a profuse, and vain-glorious administration*. If there have been none *such*, then the *whole* weight, then the *whole* guilt of the *late mismanagements* lies on *the ministers themselves*.

But it seems to be matter of universal joy to the nation, that the case is like to be altered. We hope we are arrived at a day of better oeconomy: we hope such practices will be so far from being imitated, that they will be detested and abhorred. Nor can any one entertain the least doubt of this, when he considers, a prince is ascending the throne, who will choose a *knowing, faithful, and frugal ministry*; who will not permit his domestic or foreign affairs to be negotiated by bribery and corruption, for want of sufficiency and skill in politics; whose wisdom will enable him, and whose goodness will incline him, not only to inspect the management of his

his civil-list branches, but, in justice to his parliaments, and in compassion to his people, to direct and require a due and exact disposition of all the other public funds, according to their respective appropriations.

Now, in consequence of this most just notion of his Majesty's frugality (which, amongst other his innumerable virtues, endears him so much to his subjects) I hope I may, without offence, propose the addition of some words to your question, that may restrain it to seven hundred thousand pounds; and in this I as much consult the service of his Majesty, and the honour and dignity of the crown, as those who are for granting the funds without any restriction. For (in my humble opinion) the voting a greater sum than was settled on his late Majesty, is only *voting an indemnity*, is *voting at least in favour of ministers*, whose *conduct* (as I have already hinted) if *laid before you*, and *duly examined*, would, perhaps, rather deserve *your censure*, than your *approbation*.

If his Majesty was rightly apprized of these circumstances, he would, doubtless, rather be content with a clear annual revenue of seven hundred thousand pounds, than suffer his first demand of money (by any precipitate proof of our zeal) to carry the least appearance of being burthensome to his people, who have long laboured under the pressure of grievous and exorbitant taxes.

I will detain you, Sir, no longer, but desire you would conclude your question with these words:

In like manner as they were granted and continued to his late Majesty, which may make up the clear yearly sum of seven hundred thousand pounds.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

If the following dialogue be thought worthy of a place in your useful and entertaining work, it is at your service.

I am, yours, &c.

A. B.

Bribery and Corruption considered in a new light: in a dialogue between two Electors.

1st Elect. **Y**OUR servant, Sir; I am glad to see you: what are your best news to day?

2^d Elect. Great news, I assure you, Sir, and good news too; the best, indeed, I have heard for these seven years past,
and

and even better than what I heard this time seven years; for I am told I shall have twice as much for my vote at the ensuing g——l e——n as I had at the last one.

1st Elect. You are pleased to be witty, Sir; for 'tis impossible you can be serious: I will not believe, that my friend ever received, or intends to receive, the wages of iniquity; or will give a sanction, by his example, to the infamous practice of Bribery and Corruption.

2d Elect. Why, faith, Sir, you may think me witty, if you please; but, for my own part, I was never more serious in my life. As to the wages of iniquity; or the infamous practice of Bribery and Corruption, as you phrase it; the words, I must confess, have rather a bad sound; but their badness lies all in the sound: 'tis *vox & præterea nihil*. And if you will give me a patient hearing, I will endeavour to convince you, that Bribery and Corruption, however detestable in other respects, yet, as they are usually practised at the election of m——rs of p——t, are so far from being criminal, that they are rather meritorious actions; and, instead of being prohibited, ought universally to be encouraged.

1st Elect. From the regard I have for you, on account of your former virtuous conduct, I will for once give you the hearing; though, I must own, your present language amazes me, and makes me think I am listening not to a plain honest Englishman, but to some casuistical Jesuit, freshly imported from the schools of Italy, where he has learned to call sweet bitter, and bitter sweet; to call good evil, and evil good; and to confound all natural and moral distinctions.

2d Elector. In good faith, Sir, I am no Jesuit, but your old honest friend, and as virtuous too, I trust, as ever. My heart, I hope, is not quite so bad as those of some Jesuits, nor is my head, perhaps, near so good as theirs. I never, indeed, was very remarkable for splitting a hair, or for making metaphysical distinctions; but it requires, I imagine, but an ordinary share of plain common-sense to perceive, that Bribery and Corruption, in the election of ——— of ———, is not only excusable, but is even praise-worthy.

1st Elect. As how, Sir?

2d Elect. Why thus, Sir. You will grant me, I hope, that the restitution to the right owner of a sum of money deposited in your hands is a commendable action.

1st Elect. Most certainly.

2d Elect. Now, Sir, if I can prove that Bribery and Corruption, at the election of ——— of ———, is only the restitution of a sum of money deposited in the hands of the candidates,

candidates, you will, I presume, no longer exclaim against Bribery and Corruption.

1st Elect. No, Sir; but how will you prove that?

2d Elect. O! nothing more easily. I reason thus: Every farthing of money levied upon the people, beyond what is absolutely necessary for the support of government, ought to be considered as a sum deposited in the hands of our great men, who share it among them, and who ought to restore it to the people some time or other; and as the time of a general election is the only period they think proper for that purpose, why, in G-d's name, shou'dn't they be suffered to restore it? why rather shou'dn't they be encouraged to restore it? nay, indeed, why shou'dn't they be punished, if they do not restore it? I hope, Sir, I have now satisfied you, that Bribery and Corruption, at the election of m——rs of p——t, are so far from being blameable, that they ought highly to be commended.

1st Elect. Why, truly, Sir, according to the light in which you view them, I find they are not such odious crimes as I had hitherto considered them. Before, however, I give my entire assent to your doctrine, I must beg leave to propose a few difficulties, which you will be so good as to resolve. And first, Sir, how can you be certain, that more money is levied upon the people than is absolutely necessary for the support of government?

2d Elect. In good faith, Sir, if you are not already convinced of that point, all the arguments which I can advance on the subject, will, I'm afraid, be to little purpose. There are certain truths, called self-evident propositions, as well in politics as in mathematics, that admit of no demonstration; and this seems to be one of the number. Or, to speak more properly, the arguments that prove this point are so numerous and so obvious, that to mention them all would be endless; to mention the principal would be quite superfluous: they stare you in the face; they are level even to the meanest capacity: even the very porters can give you a catalogue of them. Is it necessary, let me ask you, for the support of government, that our ministers and placemen should enjoy posts of such immense profits in the state? that some of them should have two thousand, others four thousand, others six thousand, others ten thousand; nay, that one of them in particular (the pay-m——r-general of the a——y in time of war) should have twenty thousand, some say thirty, nay, some say fifty thousand pounds a year? and that a late pay-m——r should have retired from public business worth one million, some say worth two millions sterling? why really, Sir, if all these things be necessary for the support of government, then go-

vernment is _____ But I will give you an irrefragable proof, that more money is levied upon the people than is absolutely necessary for the support of government; and that is the authority itself of one of our ministers and placemen. The author of that pamphlet, which I lent you the other day, called "Thoughts on the causes and consequences of the present high price of provisions," (I think his name is S——me J——ns, esq. a m——r of p———t, and a lord of tr——e and pl——ns) that gentleman, I say, tells us, that, for a long time past, there have been certain channels, through which the money of the public (that is, Sir, your money, and my money, and the money of every individual in the kingdom) has flowed in torrents into the pockets of private men, that is to be sure, (for it can be no other) of ministers, placemen, and pensioners. Now, Sir, as your money, and my money, and the money of every man in the kingdom, has flowed in such torrents into the pockets of ministers, placemen, and pensioners; why, in G——d's name, should not these ministers, &c. be allowed to open some counter-channels, through which that money may flow back, if not in torrents, at least in gentle streams, into the pockets of us, the rightful owners? especially as the former channels are always kept open; the latter are opened only once in seven years, and that too but for a few months. In good troth, Sir, you may give it the name of Bribery and Corruption, of the wages of iniquity, or whatever other odious appellation you please; but, for my own part, I think myself as justly entitled to the money I receive for my vote, as to any other debt that was ever due to me. I am only afraid that I shall not receive for it one sixth part of what I ought to receive. I have, I believe, during the last seven years, paid four thousand pounds in taxes. Five hundred of that I allow to go for the necessary support of government. The other three thousand five hundred has flowed into the pockets of our ministers, placemen, and pensioners; and, out of these, I doubt, I shall not be able to extract above the odd five hundred for my vote at the ensuing election. So that here are three thousand pounds gone to the dogs; or, what is yet worse, to enable one part of the community to tyrannize over the other, and to convert our most excellent republican government into an aristocracy.

1st Elea. You do not pretend, then, that it is from a principle of conscience, that the candidates restore to the people part of the money they have received from the public.

2^d Elea. O, no, Sir; for were they under the influence of that virtuous principle, they would restore not a part, but the

the whole ; and in that case, I believe the national debt would be very soon discharged. I remember, indeed, in reading over a list of the supplies for the year 1757, to have seen one article marked thus: *Left to the public, by a person unknown, 6241. for conscience sake.* I wish to God all our ministers and placemen were seized with these salutary scruples of *conscience*; for then we should see many other larger sums left to the public, *for conscience sake*: As thus, left to the public by lord H——d, 1,000, 000*l.* *for conscience sake*: left to the public by L——d Ch——m, the amount of a pension of 3000 pounds a year for three lives, *for conscience sake*: left to the public, by the earl of N——n, his pension of 4000 pounds *per annum*, *for conscience sake*: left to the public, by the same, the reversion of the hanaper for two young lives, valued at 1350 pounds *per annum*, *for conscience sake*: left to the public, by lord C——md——n, the reversion of a teller's place in the Exchequer for his son, salary 3500 pounds *per annum*, *for conscience sake*: left the public, by the same, a pension for himself on the Irish establishment of 1500 pounds *per annum*, *for conscience sake*: in a word, left to the public, by all our ministers, placemen, pensioners, and their descendants, for this half century past, the greatest part of their fortunes, amounting to the sum of the *whole national debt, for conscience sake.*

1st Elect. But if it is not from a principle of conscience, from what motive then, think you, it is, that our great men restore to the people part of the money they have received from them?

2d Elect. Why, faith, Sir, I believe it is from no better motive than what actuates the man who gives you a shilling, that he may take from you a pound. In like manner, our M——rs give us a few hundreds, that they may take from us as many thousands; but as they would still take these thousands from us whether we would or not, there is at least some merit in giving us the hundreds; and, for my own part, I think he is a most egregious fool that refuses them.

1st Elect. But does not your maxim of giving your vote to the highest bidder, prevent your paying any regard to the virtue or abilities of the candidates?

2d Elect. As to abilities, Sir, I am fully satisfied, that a very moderate share of them is requisite to form the character of a legislator; plain common sense is sufficient for that purpose; and as to virtue, I mean public virtue, or patriotism, (for with regard to private virtue, it is out of the question) I say, Sir, as to public virtue or patriotism, I have lived long enough to be convinced, that it is entirely banished the kingdom. I have, indeed, seen the mask of it worn for several

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years by some artful hypocrites, who had no sooner served their ambitious designs than they threw it aside, and laughed at the credulous multitude, who had been silly enough to believe them. Reflect, I beseech, on the conduct of our most eminent patriots for these thirty or forty years past. Name me one of them, that has refused to burden his already-oppressed and almost expiring country, with places, pensions, grants, and reversions, if not for himself, at least for his dependants. Why, Sir, I would no more search for patriotism in the circles of our great men, than I would for modesty in a brothel.

1st Elect. But you will grant, I hope, that the practice of bribery and corruption has a most fatal influence upon the morals of the people, and throws the whole kingdom, for several months in every seven years, into a state of the most brutal intoxication.

2d Elect. O yes, Sir, I will grant that, and a great deal more; nay, I will go farther, perhaps, than you imagine; I will even allow that some of our great men are guilty of the capital crime of h—m—c—de. You remember to have heard of a young lad, who was lately killed by an over-dose of brandy and wine at an entertainment given by the m—rq—s of Gr—y; what do you call that, Sir? Had the m—rq—s, indeed, ordered his butler to give the poor fellow a moderate dram (for you will observe, that, according to the principles I have established above, the lad had a right to a whole bottle of wine and brandy, nay, and to twenty bottles more) I say, had the m—rq—s ordered his butler to give the poor fellow a moderate dram every morning, especially during the late cold weather, the lad might have been the better for it, and have gone the more briskly about his business; whereas, by giving him a whole bottle at once, the poor fellow is killed, the community is deprived of an useful member, and the m—rq—s has the mortification of thinking, that he has been the occasion of that public loss. I hope this accident will be a warning to our other candidates at the entertainments they mean to give at the ensuing general election. I know it will be said, that candidates are not accountable for the accidents of that kind which may happen at the entertainments they give their electors: but I beg leave to be of a different opinion. Few men kill themselves with surfeits merely from a spirit of gluttony. Were that the case, accidents of this nature would happen every day, which they certainly do not. But the reason why so many accidents of this kind happen at electioneering feasts, is, that the people are sensible, that every bit of meat they eat, and every glass of wine they drink, is no more than their due; nay, is
not

not one twentieth part of their due; and therefore, from an eager desire *to do themselves justice*, and, conscious that they shall not enjoy again *even that poor pittance of their own property* for seven years to come, they indulge, or perhaps force, their appetite, till the consequence prove fatal. To prevent, therefore, such disasters for the future, I would have our representatives to erect public inns in all the boroughs in the kingdom, where the electors may be plentifully, but not extravagantly, entertained once a week, or at least once a month, during the whole seven years of the sitting of P—t. We shall then hear no more (I will venture to promise) of people dying of surfeits at election entertainments. Have you any more questions to ask me, Sir?

1st Elect. But one, Sir, and then I have done. You will allow, I hope, after all you have said, that bribery and corruption is a pernicious practice.

2d Elect. Most certainly, Sir, in a *virtuous state*; but in one that is *corrupt*, (as our own is in a very high degree) it is not only excusable, but even commendable. I admit, indeed, that if it were possible to reduce the expences of government to what is absolutely and indispensably necessary, the practice of bribery and corruption might be safely abolished; but while the expences of government continue so immoderately great, and while those who are possessed of offices in the state find means to amass, from the riches of the public, such immense fortunes, the practice of bribery and corruption, or the allowing our great men to restore to the people a small part of the money which they have taken from them, is not only just, but is highly praise-worthy.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The following original and authentic papers are sent you to be inserted in your Political Register, as they tend to throw some light on the great question between the public and the East-India company, whether the latter have a right to the conquests made in Asia? I am, Sir,

Your humble servant, K. S.

AT a council of war assembled in the citadel of Pondicherry, the 22^d day of January 1761, to consider on the subject of a letter which the president of Fort St. George wrote to colonel Coote, dated the 21st instant,

P R E S E N T,

Charles Stevens, esq. rear-admiral of the red squadron of his Majesty's fleet, and commander in chief of all his Majesty's ships and vessels employed in the East-Indies,

Eyre

Eyre Coote, esq. colonel of his Majesty's 84th regiment of foot, and commander in chief of his Majesty's land-forces in the East-Indies.

Samuel Cornish, esq. rear-admiral of the white, &c.

Captain Robert Haldane,

Hyde Parker,

John Bladon Tinker,

Phillip Affleck,

Major Wm. Gordon,

Robt. Gordon,

John Moore.

(The substance of which letter was read as follows, viz.)

To Eyre Coote, esq. commander in chief of the land-forces.

Sir,

ALTHOUGH I have already had the pleasure of offering you my congratulations personally on the important acquisition of Pondicherry, I cannot refuse myself the satisfaction of presenting them again on the first occasion which has since offered of addressing you in writing, as you are well acquainted with the great expence the company have been put to for the maintenance of the army, and how unable they are any longer to support that charge. I did hope you would have hastened to deliver over the settlement of Pondicherry to the president and council of Fort St. George on behalf of the company, that a great part of the expences might be reduced; but as no tender of that kind has yet been made on your part, and those expences still running on, I cannot, consistently with what I owe the company, avoid any longer making these representations to you; and, in consequence, I do desire that you will deliver over the charge of the said settlement to me on behalf of the said company.

Pondicherry,

Jan. 21, 1761.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEORGE PIGOTT.

The copy of colonel Coote's answer to the said letter was read as follows:

Sir, Head-quarters, Fort St. Lewis, Jan. 21, 1761.

I HAVE this moment the honour of your letter, which I thought proper to lay before the admirals Stevens and Cornish, as they are immediately connected with me, in regard to all captures which concern his Majesty; and as those gentlemen agree with me in opinion, that the capture of Pondicherry is of so great consequence to the interest and honour of the crown, that it will be absolutely necessary to call together a select council, before a positive answer can be given to your request, you may be assured that no time shall be lost in doing this, although, with respect to the army, I cannot conceive that any

any difference can arise, whether this place be in the possession of the king or company. I have the honour to be, &c.

To George Pigott, esq. (Signed) EYRE COOTE.
(A true copy, F. Rowland, fec.)

The following letter was then wrote to George Pigott, esq.
governor of Fort St. George, viz.

Sir, Pondicherry, Jan. 22, 1761.

A COUNCIL of war being now assembled to consider on the subject of your letter of yesterday's date to colonel COOTE, we desire that you will please to inform us, by what authority you demand the cession of this place to be delivered up to the governor and council of Fort St. George, for the use and benefit of the East-India Company. We are, Sir,

To George Pigott, esq. Your most humble servants,
Governor of Fort St. George. CHARLES STEVENS,
EYRE COOTE.

At half past noon the council adjourned to next morning:

Jan. 23, ten o'clock in the morning.

To Charles Stevens, Esq. rear-admiral of the red division of his Majesty's fleet, and commander in chief of his squadron in India.

To Eyre Coote, esq. colonel of his Majesty's 84th regiment of foot, and commander in chief of the land-forces on the coast of Coromandel.

Gentlemen,

THE letter you did me the honour to write me yesterday has this moment been delivered to me. You desire to be informed by what authority I demand the cession of Pondicherry to the president and council of Fort St. George, on behalf of the East-India Company. To avoid a long detail of circumstances arising from the charter granted to the company, I will confine myself to the patent which his Majesty has been pleased to grant to them, bearing date the 14th day of January 1758; an exemplification whereof, under the great seal of Great-Britain, is now at Madras, and a copy in my possession here, which shall be produced, if you think it necessary. It is by virtue of this patent particularly, that I conceive the East-India company, or their agents, have a right to be put in possession of all places taken in the East-Indies. I have the honour to be, &c.

Pondicherry, Jan. 23d, 1761. GEORGE PIGOTT.

The council, having well considered the letters-patent on which the president and council of Fort St. George ground their
their

their claim to have Pondicherry ceded to the East-India company, are unanimously of opinion, that no part of that patent gives the East-India Company, or their agents, any claim or right to the possession of the town and citadel of Pondicherry, until his Majesty's pleasure is known: but admiral Stevens and colonel Coote having declared to this council, that they have no authority to draw upon the government, or any fund to support a garrison in Pondicherry, until his Majesty's pleasure is known; and colonel Coote having likewise represented to this council, that Mr. Pigott, the president of Fort St. George, has declared, he will not provide necessary subsistence for the army, and prisoners of war, unless Pondicherry is delivered to him; and that, in case it is not, he threatens immediately to stop the payment of the army, and will in no manner give any assistance to the king's troops; the council have therefore taken into consideration the necessity to which colonel Coote declares the garrison of Pondicherry will be reduced for want of subsistence; and the majority of this council are, contrary to their inclinations, as conceiving his Majesty's royal prerogative insulted, obliged to abandon the town and citadel of Pondicherry to the president and council of Fort St. George, who are to be accountable to his Majesty for the consequences attending the same. Dated in the citadel of Pondicherry, this 23d day of January, 1761.

(A true copy, F. Rowland, secretary.)

CHARLES STEVENS,
EYRE COOTE.

TO the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

At a friend's in the country, where I have lately been, I amused myself, during the bad weather, by turning over a large bundle of news-papers which I found there, carefully preserved in a regular series from his Majesty's happy accession down to the present time. And, for the entertainment of your readers, I send you a few of the paragraphs which I thought curious and worthy being saved from oblivion, by being inserted in your useful Register.

HIS Majesty's most gracious proclamation against profaneness and immorality affords the most comfortable prospect to his serious-disposed subjects, as they hope to see no man employed in administration, who does not, in his private life, testify his regard for virtue and religion.

Yesterday the right honourable the earl of Sandwich kissed the king's hand on being appointed one of his Majesty's principal

eipal secretaries of state, as did the right honourable lord Despenfer, as keeper of the king's wardrobe.

We are well assured there will be no gaming at court on Twelfth-nights, and that the groom-porter's salary will be augmented in consideration of his perquisites; a noble proof of his Majesty's intentions to discourage that destructive vice!

The following great personages, now in administration, are members of the Jocky Club:

Earl Gower, lord-president of the council.

His grace the duke of Grafton, first lord of the treasury.

Viscount Weymouth, secretary of state.

Viscount Bolingbroke, lord of the bed-chamber.

His grace the duke of Ancafter, master of horse to the queen.

Richard Vernon, esq. a clerk of the board of green-cloth.

We hear that a certain great commoner, seconded by a most popular lawyer, intends to move an impeachment against a late se—y of f—e, for ordering the mayor of Maidstone to deliver up the Hanoverian soldier committed for stealing a handkerchief, in order to deter all future ministers from interfering with the laws of the land.

Lately published, a speech against the dispensing power, in answer to a lately ennobled E's and lately created B's assertions, that the crown has a dispensing power when the *salus populi* is concerned.

It is said, that the chief cause of the present high price of provisions, is the great plenty of money brought into this kingdom by the late war.

Several manufacturers in the country are unable to pay their workmen, from the exceeding great scarcity of specie, owing to the continual drain of our coin to pay the interest of our debts to foreigners, contracted in the late expensive war.

We are well assured, that, in consideration of the great abilities of the earl of Dartmouth, first lord of trade, and the great utility of that board in these times of difficulty and embarrassment with our colonies; the said earl will be declared secretary of state for America, the said office to be forever annexed to that of first lord of trade.

Yesterday Mr. Alderman Trecothick presented to the marquises of Rockingham several plans for the regulation and encouragement of our trade to the colonies, which had been concerted by the American agents and merchants at the King's-Arms, Cornhill; some of which will require considerable alterations to be made in the acts of navigation, and the total repeal of many others; and that the said plan will

be immediately proposed by the said marquis's secretary in a certain assembly, without the delay of a formal consideration by the board of trade.

It is said, that the city board of trade have now before them a scheme for putting an entire stop to the clandestine trade carried on by some of the colonies; and that a gentleman lately arrived from New-York, and another who long resided at St. Eustatia, have been consulted upon the occasion.

We are well assured, that the people of Boston have come to a resolution of laying down all their own manufactures, and using nothing but English goods, should the stamp-act be repealed. A certain great commoner, it is also said, has pledged his honour in a certain assembly, that no man in America should make so much as a nail or a horse-shoe, if the said act be repealed; which shews how much it is the interest of all our manufacturing towns to instruct their members to promote its repeal, and to raise the money rather from the manufactures in England, than to lay it on the manufactures in America, who must soon be obliged to quit their occupations.

Boston, Nov. 2. At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, legally assembled at Faneuil-Hall, on Wednesday the 28th of October, 1767, the hon. James Otis, esq. moderator, a written address to the inhabitants, subscribed *philo-patriæ*, recommending oeconomy and manufactures, was, by their order, read:—The town then took into consideration the petition of a number of inhabitants, “that some effectual measures might be agreed upon to promote industry, oeconomy, and manufactures; thereby to prevent the unnecessary importation of European commodities, which threaten the country with poverty and ruin:” whereupon, in a very large and full meeting, the following votes and resolutions were passed unanimously.—Whereas the excessive use of foreign superfluities is the chief cause of the present distressed state of this town, as it is thereby drained of its money; which misfortune is likely to be increased by means of the late additional burthens and impositions on the trade of the province, which threaten the country with poverty and ruin:—Therefore voted, that this town will take all prudent and legal measures to encourage the produce and manufactures of this province, and to lessen the use of superfluities, and particularly the following enumerated articles imported from abroad, viz. loaf sugar, cordage, anchors, coaches, chaises, and carriages of all sorts, horse furniture, mens and womens hats, mens and womens apparel ready-made, household furniture, gloves,

gloves, mens and womens shoes, sole-leather, sheathing and deck nails, gold and silver and thread lace of all sorts, gold and silver buttons, wrought plate of all sorts, diamonds, stone and paste ware, snuff, mustard, clocks and watches, silversmiths and jewellers ware, broad cloths that cost above 10s. per yard, muffs, furs, and tippets, and all sorts of millenary ware, starch, women and childrens stays, fire engines, china ware, silk and cotton velvets, gauze, pewterers hollow ware, linseed oil, glue, lawns, cambricks, silks of all kinds for garments, malt liquors, and cheese. And that a subscription for this end be, and hereby is, recommended to the several inhabitants and householders of the town:—And whereas it is the opinion of this town, that divers new manufactures may be set up in America, to its great advantage, and some others carried to a greater extent, particularly those of glass and paper, —Therefore voted, that this town will, by all prudent ways and means, encourage the use and consumption of glass and paper made in any of the British American colonies; and more especially in this province.—Then the meeting adjourned till three o'clock in the afternoon; when the committee appointed in the forenoon to prepare a form for subscription, reported as follows:—Whereas this province labours under a heavy debt, incurred in the course of the late war; and the inhabitants by this means must be for some time subject to very burthensome taxes: and as our trade has for some years been on the decline, and is now particularly under great embarrassments, and burthened with heavy impositions, our medium very scarce, and the balance of trade greatly against this country:—We, therefore, the subscribers, being sensible that it is absolutely necessary, in order to extricate us out of these embarrassed and distressed circumstances, to promote industry, oeconomy, and manufactures among ourselves, and by this means prevent the unnecessary importation of European commodities, the excessive use of which threatens the country with poverty and ruin, do promise and engage, to and with each other, that we will encourage the use and consumption of all articles manufactured in any of the British American colonies, and more especially in this province; and that we will not, from and after the 31st of December next ensuing, purchase any of the following articles imported from abroad, viz. loaf sugar, and all the other articles enumerated above.—And we further agree strictly to adhere to the late regulation respecting funerals, and will not use any gloves but what are manufactured here, nor procure any new garments upon such an occasion, but what shall be absolutely necessary.—The above report having been considered,

the question was put, whether the same shall be accepted :
voted unanimously in the affirmative. *

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* Here it will not be amiss to insert the following observations on the above extraordinary resolutions.

“ If there be any man in this country, who thinks that the combination, lately entered into at Boston, (as mentioned in your last) is merely a matter of interior oeconomy, by which we are not essentially affected, or of which we have no right to complain, I may safely pronounce, that that man knows nothing of the condition of the British commerce, nor of the condition of the British finances. It might be happy for us, if we were all in the same state of ignorance.

“ It would be to no purpose at present to renew a discussion of the merits of the stamp act; though I am convinced that even the people who were most clamorous against it, either never understood, or willfully misrepresented every part of it. But it is truly astonishing that a great number of people should have so little foreseen the inevitable consequence of repealing it; and particularly that the trading part of the city should have conceived, that a compliance, which acknowledged the rod to be in the hand of the Americans, could ever induce them to surrender it. They must have been rather weaker than ourselves, if they ever paid their debts, when they saw plainly that, by withholding them, they kept us in subjection. In the natural course of things the debtor should be at the mercy of his creditor, rather than a tyrant over him; but it seems that, for these three years past, wherever America hath been concerned every argument of reason, every rule of law, and every claim of nature, has been despised or reversed. We have not even a tolerable excuse for our folly. The punishment has followed close upon it; and that it must be so, was as evident to common sense, and probable in prospect, as it is now certain in experience. There was, indeed, one man, who wisely foresaw every circumstance which has since happened, and who, with a patriot's spirit, opposed himself to the torrent. He told us, that if we thought the loss of our outstanding debts, and of our American trade, a mischief of the first magnitude, such an injudicious compliance with the terms dictated by the colonies, was the way to make it sure and unavoidable. It was *pe moriari, mori*. We see the prophecy verified in every particular, and if this great and good man was mistaken in any one instance, it was perhaps that he did not expect his predictions to be fulfilled so soon as they have been.

“ This being the actual state of things, it is equally vain to attempt to conceal our situation from our enemies, as it is impossible to conceal it from ourselves. The taxes and duties necessarily laid upon trade, in order to pay the interest of a debt of one hundred and thirty millions, are so heavy, that our manufactures no longer find a vent in foreign markets. We are underfold and
beaten

It is said, it is not in the power of the crown to create a new office; and that the appointment of a board of commissioners for the customs in America, will be done by act of parliament.

beaten out of branches of trade, of which we had once an almost exclusive possession. The progress towards a total loss of our whole foreign trade has been rapid; the consequence of it must be fatal. We had vainly hoped that an exclusive commerce with our colonies (in whose cause a great part of the very incumbrances, which have destroyed our foreign trade, were contracted) would have rewarded us for all our losses and expence, and have made up any deficiency in the revenue of our customs. We had a right to expect this exclusive commerce from the gratitude of the Americans, from their relation to us as colonists, and from their own real interest, if truly understood. But, unfortunately for us, some vain pernicious ideas of independance and separate dominion, thrown out and fomented by designing seditious spirits in that country, and encouraged and confirmed here by the treachery of some, and folly of others, have cut off all those just hopes, those well-founded expectations. Whilst we are granting bounties upon the importation of American commodities, the grateful inhabitants of that country are uniting in an absolute prohibition of the manufactures of Great-Britain. To doubt that the example will be followed by the rest of the colonies, would be rejecting every evidence, which the human mind is capable of receiving. To be mad is a misfortune, but to rave in cold blood is contemptible.

The enterprizes of the Americans are now carried to such a point, that every moment we lose serves only to accelerate our perdition. If the present weak, false, and pusillanimous administration are suffered to go on in abetting and supporting the colonies against the mother country; if the p—— should take no notice of this last daring attack upon our commerce, the only consequence will be that the contest, instead of being undertaken while we have strength to support it, will be reserved, not for our posterity, but to a time when we ourselves shall have surrendered all our arms to the people with whom we are to contend;—nor will that period be distant.

“ If the combination at Boston be not a breach of any standing law, (which I believe it is) ought it not to be immediately declared so by an act of legislature? It is true, that private persons cannot be compelled to buy or sell against their will; but unlawful combinations, supported by public subscription and public engagements, are and ought to be subject to the heaviest penalties of the law. I shall only add, that it is the common cause of this nation; and that a vigorous and steady exertion of the authority of Great-Britain would soon awe a tumultuous people, who have grown insolent by our injudicious forbearance, and trampled upon us, because we submitted to them.

S. N.

Yesterday

94 *A Treaty in favour of the Polish Dissidents.*

Yesterday the earl of Hillsborough kissed the king's hand on being appointed secretary of state for America.

We can assure the public, that the most perfect harmony subsists among the several members of the present administration, and that they are all determined to wave all punctilios and private considerations for the sake of dispatching the public business.

It is said, that when two noble persons went lately to receive their offices, a dispute arose about precedency, which caused much altercation, and was at last decided by a great personage to the great disgust and mortification of the Bloomsbury party. We are also informed, that the late stagnation in the public offices, was occasioned by the delay of the new appointments taking place, which were obliged to be postponed till after the Queen's birth-day, general Conway having engaged company to dine with him on that day as secretary of state.

The chaise boy of a certain great personage lately refused to mount his horse, until he had assurances given him by the great personage himself, that his wages should be paid, which were nine months in arrear.

To make way for the late accession to ministry, the earl of Northington retires with a pension of 4000*l.* a year, as does James Oswald, esq. with one of 2000*l.*

TO the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

As the treaty lately concluded at Warsaw, in favour of the Polish Dissidents, is, whether considered as an extension of civil or religious liberty, one of the most remarkable and important events that has happened in Europe for some centuries past, I have sent you the substance of it, not doubting but it will prove acceptable to the generality of your readers. I am, Sir, your humble servant, D. G.

THE Contracting Parties in this treaty are, the empress of *Russia*, and the kings of *Great-Britain*, *Prussia*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, as guarantying powers of the peace of *Oliva* in 1660, on the one part, and the king and republic of *Poland*, on the other. The treaty consists of five articles.

The first article contains the laws that are annulled in favour of the *Greeks* and *Dissidents*, particularly the ordinances of *Jagellan* of 1424 and 1439 against heretics (which ordinances have no relation either to the *Greeks*, who, ever since the year 1340, have enjoyed the free exercise of their religion in *Poland*; nor to the *Dissidents*, who at that time were not known in that country) as also the ordinance of *Maffovia*,
restored

restored by duke *John* in 1525, as being no longer of force after that province was re-united and subjected to Poland. And as the year 1717 hath been received as the *normal year*, all the ordinances and decrees made against the Dissidents since the first of January of that year, are annulled and abrogated.

The second article comprehends the rights and privileges, in the enjoyment of which the *Greeks* and *Dissidents*, as well of *Poland*, as *Lithuania*, and the dependant provinces, are re-established. They are thereby rendered capable of being invested with all offices and dignities, even those of counsellor and minister, of nuncio in the diets, and of deputy to the four supreme tribunals. They are also rendered capable of discharging the office of ambassador at foreign courts, and of sharing in all the employments of the state. They are, moreover, impowered to build churches in all the royal towns with the consent of the king, and in the lands of the nobles with the permission of the lord of the manor. They are, besides, enabled to have, through the whole kingdom, churches, schools, hospitals, clocks and organs. They are no longer obliged to pay any duties of *Stole* to the *Catholic* clergy. Their ecclesiastics may perform all acts of religion without the least obstacle, and may hold consistories and synods without any dependance upon the *Roman Catholic* jurisdiction. With regard to marriages between persons of a different religion, the boys are to follow the religion of their father, and the girls that of their mother. The nuptial benediction is to be given by a clergyman of the bride's religion, and, in case she be of the *Romish* communion, and any difficulty occur on that point, a *Dissident* clergyman may perform the marriage ceremony. The bishopric of *Mobilow* or of *White Russia*, with all its churches, is to remain for ever to the oriental *Greeks*. In all towns the *Dissidents* may be admitted into the companies of tradesmen; may be invested with all offices of magistracy; may possess houses and lands; and may enjoy all the privileges annexed to the character of a citizen. This article, likewise, contains a description of the *Judicium mixtum*, or mixed tribunal, before which must be tried all causes relating to the worship of the *Greeks* and the *Dissidents*. The plan, drawn up for this purpose, is somewhat tedious; I shall therefore give you only the principal particulars. This tribunal is to be composed of a president and sixteen members, half *Catholics*, and half *Greeks* or *Dissidents*. With regard to the office of president, it is to be exercised alternately and successively every three months, by the professors of the different religions. When it is the turn of the *Greeks*, the bishop of *Mobilow* is always to have
the

96 *A Treaty in favour of the Polish Dissidents.*

the right of being at the head of the tribunal, as being *Præs natus*, or hereditary president. These seventeen judges are to be named by the king, in the month of July of every year, except the first nomination, which must be made in the diet. His Majesty may either choose new ones every year, or confirm the old; but the election of the president can be determined only by a plurality of votes. This tribunal is to sit at *Warsaw*, and is to have two notaries, the one a *Catholic*, the other a *Greek* or a *Dissident*, and it is not to decide anything but by a plurality of voices. When the president is a *Catholic*, the notary must be a *Dissident*, and *vice versa*. All persons, belonging to this tribunal, are to receive their salaries out of the public treasury.

The third article regulates the rights of the great and little towns of *Prussia*. *Thorn* is to have, in the palatinates of *Culm* and *Marienburg*, a consistory for the *Dissidents* the resolution taken in 1724, with regard to the affair of *Thorn*, is suppressed. The *Jesuits* are to remove the marble table set up on that occasion in the church-yard, and to restore it to the magistrate of that town. As the king of *Poland*, and the council of the said town, have the right of nominating alternately to the parochial church, and as former kings had given that right to the *Jesuits*, who thenceforth appropriated the nomination to themselves, the council is re-instated in its ancient right, and is to have the presentation to the cure as soon as it shall become vacant. The pretension of the *Catholics* to the principal church of *Dantzick* is likewise annulled.

The fourth article relates to the affairs of *Courland*. No person in that duchy is to be obliged to inform the *Catholics* of the place where he intends to celebrate divine worship. The *Romish* clergy there are not to marry any subject or domestic, without the written permission of their masters. The *Catholic* churches at *Goldingen* and *Mittaw* are to restore the bailiwicks of *New-Frederickshoff* and *Raonnen*, and content themselves with the stipends fixed in 1740. All the churches which the *Lutherans* either possess at present, or may build hereafter, are to remain to them for ever; but can never pass to the *Reformists*. The ancient *Greeks* are to enjoy in *Courland* the free exercise of their religion.

The fifth and last article treats of the District of *Pilten*. It confirms the treaty of *Cronstadt* of 1585, establishing the secularization of the said district, to the bishoprics of which the prelates of *Livonia* are no longer to be allowed to nominate themselves.

This treaty, which bears date December the 1st, 1767, is signed by prince Repnin, by the Prince-Primate, by all deputies of the republic, and is confirmed with their seals.

CONTINUATION of the BOSTON GAZETTE
from Page 29.

For fear the Colonies should be dependent on Great Britain,
read the Boston Gazette of August 24.

"IT is likewise against the charter of America. For to what end are we allowed to have Parliaments, unless, that, according to the constitution of England, as English subjects, we are to be subject to no laws, but such as we consent to. It is against the practice of all former ages. Wherein can it appear, that any statute made in England was allowed to be put in practice in America, without the authority of our Parliament. For if America may be bound by the Parliament of England; of what use are Parliaments in America?—If the religion, lives, liberties, fortunes and estates of Americans, may be disposed of without their *privity* and *consent*, what benefit have they of any laws, liberties and privileges granted unto them by the crown of England? I am loth to give their condition an *hard name*; but I have no other notion of *slavery*, but *being bound by a law to which I do not consent*. The obligation of all laws having the same foundation, if *one* law may be imposed *without consent*, any *other* law whatever may be imposed on us *without our consent*. This will naturally introduce *taxing us without our consent*; and this as necessarily destroys our *property*. I have no other notion of *property*, but a *power of disposing of my goods as I please*, and not as another shall command: Whatever another may *rightfully* take from me *without my consent*, I have certainly no *property* in. To *tax* me without consent, is little better, if at all, than *down right robbing me*. I am sure the great patrons of liberty and property, the free people of *England*, cannot think of such a thing, but with abhorrence."

And again read the Gazette of September 14.

"TO enjoy our natural rights, and the liberties of English subjects, is the supreme felicity of mankind: To submit to the galling yoke of slavery, and groan under the iron rod of tyranny, is misery beyond description.---Natural right, and the liberty of English subjects, undoubtedly belong to Americans, and are essentially comprized in this, *A freedom from all taxes and laws not consented to*.---This being the case, it is astonishing that the P---t of G. B. should, immediately after the late glorious struggle in America, again attempt to enslave us, by demanding a submission to laws and taxes to which we, nor our representatives for us, ever assented: Nay (as if they had

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determined

determined our destruction) that they should, without precedent, and in direct opposition to law and the English constitution, undertake to suspend the legislative authority of a whole G—t, for a modest and righteous refusal to pay obedience to a tax thus unconstitutionally laid.--I would ask, what more direct and arbitrary step could they take, were they determined to annihilate our freedom and natural right? Will the free-born sons of those truly brave ancestors, who traversed a boisterous ocean, and settled a howling wilderness, for the sake of liberty, tamely yield their necks to the heavy chains of slavery? Should we not thereby blast the happy fruits of all their sufferings and toils? Let us look forward and see our tender offspring without hope of redress, groaning under poverty, wretchedness and slavery, from our pusillanimous conduct---Are we so lost to all generous sentiments, are our hearts yet so callous and dead to all feelings of humanity, that the anguish of our progenitors, our own excruciating misery, nor the deserved curses of our children, can awake in us one spark of manly resolution?---Can we tamely behold our darling rights ravished from us, without an exertion for their protection?---It must not, it will not, it shall not be.---Arise then my fellow-subjects, and with unanimity and firmness assert your freedom---Declare to the other colonies, that you look on their chains as your own, and that they shall be always sure of your support.---Either disband your representatives, and send them away as an expensive and useless body, or proclaim to the whole world your resolution to obey such laws and taxes as originate *only* with them. Of what use can a house of Representatives be, when their legislative authority can be suspended, unless you obey laws their voice has not sanctioned?---It is the height of folly to support the shadow of English liberty without the substance; to keep up a parliament whose power may be destroyed at pleasure. Was not the subject too melancholy, the very supposition would be to the last degree ridiculous---If we would avoid the deepest woe, and avert the keenest remorse; if we would deprecate having the happiness and freedom of unborn millions required at our hands, we shall surely, without being dismayed by any prospect, pursue our duty; for no prospect, however terrible, can present so horrid a spectacle as a once brave and free people in the depths of slavery and despair---There are who with reptile wiles would cozen you out of your just rights, and who, without daring to avow their designs, would pilfer away your liberty---They will tell you that liberty consists in being governed by certain known fixed laws: But should you hint their mistakes in the public papers, and that you thought it was necessary those known, fixed laws should be consented to, in order to constitute liberty, you are
a base

a base traducer, and shall be treated in a more *summary way*, than a regular and legal process by jury---Such men tell you *the liberty of the press means no more than a freedom from an imprimatur*, and that every observation on their conduct deserves the severest punishment---What a miserable opinion must such men have of you my countrymen, to hope by this doctrine to lure you to your ruin?---Do they imagine you are ignorant of the extent of English liberty, or that knowing your rights, you are to be terrified by such threats to swerve from your duty to your country? Away with your idle tales, away with your crocodile tears, away with your wicked threats, ye cruel supporters of arbitrary power, ye abominable forgers of your country's chains---We know our rights, liberties, and privileges; and, like wise men, are determined to sacrifice all things else for their preservation: but at this critical juncture, in this dark day of distress, let us act like resolute and wise men. Gentle means are always first to be tried, and are always best, if they will answer every good purpose: such means we have in our power, which, if we pursue them with unanimity and wisdom, I doubt not will succeed; for the Lord will defend the righteous and their cause. Let us then at once determine to lessen our demands from G. B. let us abridge our trade with those who would use the very power they derive from our connection, to our destruction. We cannot be obliged to wear the manufactures of G. B. and who will say we are obliged to take them—Let us stick to this one point, which I am sure will answer all our desires, and we shall disappoint our enemies, and rejoice our friends—Confusion is at all times to be dreaded, therefore let us avoid it; so shall we have the happiness of seeing the malice of our persecutors return on their own heads, and this whole land enjoying the blessings of peace, liberty and good government, for we may rest assured, there is

*“Some chosen curse,
Some hidden thunder, in the stores of heav’n,
Red with uncommon wrath, to blast the men
Who owe their greatness to their country’s ruin.”*

The conclusions and inferences shall be in our next number.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

The Causes of the present high Price of Corn and Grain, and a State of the Abuses and Impositions practised upon the Publick in general, and the Poor in particular, by the Millers or Mealmen; with Hints for a Law to reduce the present Price of Corn, to prevent its ever rising so high for the future, and to correct and prevent the Abuses and Impositions of the Millers or Mealmen.

THE cause of the present high price of corn and grain, cannot have risen from any internal scarcity occasioned by bad crops, it being universally allowed, that there never were so long a series of years of plentiful crops of corn and grain of all sorts, as the last fifteen years; and the last year was not near so bad as has been represented, and in general, far from a bad crop, it having missed only on the moist and cold soils: And it is most notorious that for some years past, since the millers have been permitted to set up the trade of dealing in, and monopolizing of corn and meal, the coarser sorts of meal consumed by the populace, or poorer sorts of people, (who, as it is their chief subsistence, eat by much the greatest part of bread consumed in these kingdoms) have been chiefly composed of, and ground down from horse corn; by which there must evidently have been a proportionable less consumption of bread corn: So that the scarcity which now appears, must inevitably have arisen from an extraordinary exportation, which at the high price it bears here, cannot now be carried on upon any mercantile principle, consequently must be done on some political device of our enemies, to distress and throw us into confusion, the better to accomplish any future designs they may have formed against us. Therefore, the most immediate means for reducing the price of corn, and preventing our enemies from preying upon our vitals, must be, by putting a stop to the exportation of it, in the most expeditious and effectual manner.

The distillers consume enormous quantities of bread corn, as well as of all other sorts of grain; converting it from its just, beneficial and natural uses, to destructive, pernicious, and unnatural ones: Distilling therefore, if it must be supported at all, should only be permitted when corn and grain of all sorts are very cheap.

The millers, or mealmen, have been the principal agents or factors, by whose means the merchant and distillers have been enabled to collect and buy up the large quantities they have done, for exportation and distilling. Their employ is a new
trade

trade or business, added to, or set up, between the miller and the baker, or the consumers of bread and meal in all shapes; and wherever a new trade, business or employ, is set up between the raisers and consumers of any commodity, a new and an additional profit must necessarily follow; and consequently, the price be enhanced, let these profits be ever so reasonable. But if such new trade not only admits of, but actually exists upon a monopoly, as it is apparent this does, then these millers, or mealmen, have an arbitrary power of fixing their own profits, and by the junction of the two businesses of miller and mealman, they have also an opportunity of debasing the quality of the meal, so as to admit of a profit equal to cent. per cent. And since this practice of debasing has been detected by the insurrections of the populace, they do not scruple to acknowledge their mixing of meal ground from horse beans and barley, with their wheat meal, under a pretence that they cannot otherwise sell the coarser sorts of meal at the price they do: But it is generally believed, that their coarser sorts of meal are composed of bean and barley flour chiefly; which being, upon an average, generally sold at half the price of wheat, admits of their exacting from the publick, and adding a profit of cent. per cent. to their common profits. And that they do this in some degree, most evidently appears, not only from such their confessions, but from a circumstance they themselves advance, to prove the utility of their business; which is this, that if any private person shall buy any given quantity of wheat, and procure it to be ground down ever so well, justly and cautiously, by a disinterested miller, they will sell such person considerably more meal for his money, than such quantity of wheat so bought and ground by themselves shall produce. But the fallacy of this lies in the quality, as many who have tried the experiment have found: Though the mealmen pretend to be enabled to do this, by keeping their mills and servants constantly and regularly employed, and by the dexterity of their bolting or dressing mills. There may be advantages, undoubtedly, in these, but not at all equal to what they pretend. As to the first, their custom-work, if they behaved well, and were under proper regulations; would equally keep them in constant employ: And, as to the latter, the improvements proceeding from thence, are not pretended to be more than these; the saving of manual labour, in dressing the meal in the common way, to the baker and private families, and dressing it somewhat nearer, by which some slight addition may be made to the quantity. However, these are certainly such improvements, as would, (if the millers were confined under proper regulations to their custom-work) be of service to the publick: And notwithstanding the poor mistaken and undistinguishing populace have, in
their

their extremity, made these bolting or dressing mills the object of their resentment, they certainly deserve to be encouraged and kept up; and the miller, when he grinds and dresses meal too for a customer, ought to have some additional allowance for the dressing: but there can be no reason for rating this in proportion to the advantages accruing from it; as the expence of erecting or adding one of these bolting or dressing mills to any common corn mill, need not exceed above ten or fifteen pounds; as they are worked by the same power that grinds the corn, with little or no additional force; as the annual expence of supporting, and the additional labour in using them is very trifling; and as the publick are not at all obliged to the millers for the invention of them. Such an additional allowance may therefore be very small, and yet adequate to the miller's deserts on this occasion.

Two, three, or four at most, of these millers, or mealmen, generally buy up the whole corn sold at a market, and by their being so few, can raise or fall the price of the market, just as they please; so that when they would buy in a large stock, they sink it, and when they would sell it out in larger quantities than ordinary, they raise it; and by these means become the stock-jobbers of bread, the staple necessary, and staff of life, to the poor in particular, and the publick in general: And as their profits are exorbitant, and in their own power, they have not those inducements to buy cheap, as the bakers have, who are to the mealmen as a 100 to 1; and each of them is, and always will be, under a sort of necessitous motive, not only to buy corn as cheap, but as good too as he can, in order to enable him to sell more bread, and better for the money, than his brother, and by that means, get more custom and sale for it.

The millers, or mealmen, have also established the custom of buying corn by sample in most market towns, so that it is impossible for the poor, or private families, to buy small quantities for their respective uses, as formerly; which obliges them to have recourse to the bakers, both for bread, meal, and flour for all uses: For few, if any, of these millers, or mealmen, will now condescend to sell their meal or flour retail; which is adding another profit upon it, to their own exorbitant ones: But if the poor and private families, could buy small quantities of bread corn to grind down themselves, for making their own bread, and flour for other uses, as heretofore they used to do, they would be under great difficulties to get it ground in any reasonable time; and when done, it would be so reduced in the quantity by an excessive toll, and in the quality also, by being ground down, or mixed with their compositions, that they would be considerable losers and sufferers by it; which is a very great oppression upon the poor in particular, and private families

mills in general. And this can only be redressed by confining the millers to their original and proper business of grinding corn only, and that under better regulated restrictions, than they have been hitherto : And by obliging a proper quantity of bread corn to be brought in, and sold in open market ; and this last might be effectually done, without obliging the farmers to bring in the whole of the quantities they shall sell ; which, as the times are now circumstanced, would create great inconveniences and confusion ; but it might be sufficiently done by obliging the farmers to sell all their bread corn in open market, by no less a sample than a bag, containing three Winchester bushels ; which sample or bag should not be sold with the quantity, till it stood three market days exposed for sale to the poor, and private families. And this, it is presumed, would produce a sufficient quantity to supply them, and be attended with no inconveniency to the farmer, as the same horse that brings him or his servant to market, would as conveniently bring a bag of corn also, when it did not suit his convenience to bring a load, or the whole quantity he had to sell with his team, on the market day.

Another grievous abuse and imposition practised in this business upon the publick, and the poor in particular, which calls loudly for redress, is this : The farmers, from a secret principle of pride and emulation amongst themselves, to excel each other in the price they sell their corn for, have introduced a custom of enlarging their bushels or strikes beyond the Winchester measure, established by 22. Car. II. to such a degree, as to give the mealmen an opportunity of adding to their profits, as above, nearly upon an average, one fifth of the clear value of all the corn and meal that pass through their hands to the bakers : And this they have effected by soothing the farmers in this folly, till they now refuse to treat or deal with them, unless they will engage, that their bushels of corn shall weigh such a stipulated weight, as generally brings it to ten gallons instead of eight, the Winchester or Statute measure. The civil magistrate, pursuant to the statute of 51 Henry III. sets the assize of bread according to the market price of corn, by the strike or bushel, statute measure, and under a supposition that the mealmen buy that measure, sets the assizes of bread according to the price of ten gallons, when it should be only at the price of eight ; so that the price of bread, sold by the bakers, is by this means advanced one fifth, which the mealmen have hereby an opportunity of sinking upon the publick, and of adding to their own profits. Besides this, the farmer's selling by such a diversity of measure, not only creates a general confusion in the course of dealings with them ; but it gives the mealmen an opportunity of confirming and establishing their monopoly upon such

such a foundation, as to make it impossible for them ever to be broke in upon, without some legislative regulation; for when two or three of them have once possessed themselves of a market, by becoming acquainted with the different measures of the farmers that use it, they will give such different prices for corn of the same goodness, property, and value, that a stranger, who is not acquainted with the farmer's measures, cannot possibly tell how to bid for, or buy corn at all, without subjecting himself to great impositions.

There is another circumstance in the course of the dealings of the millers, or mealmen, which is a great grievance to the poor in general, and more particularly to such of them as are employed in manufactures in and about populous trading towns; which is this; they sell their meal wholesale to second persons, who sell it again in large quantities to third persons, under the denomination of hucksters and shopkeepers of various kinds, in such towns and the villages round them, who again retail it to the poor in small quantities; so that the most useful and industrious poor now pay three new additional, and it is to be feared, exorbitant profits on this staple necessary of life, that is their chief subsistence; which must tend greatly to the prejudice, and, if not soon put a stop to, the total destruction of our manufactures, trade, and commerce in general, as well as to the immediate distress and grievous oppression of these miserable objects.

Hints for a Law for reducing the present Price of Corn, &c.

That it be enacted, that whenever wheat rises to 5s. rye 4s. barley, pease and beans to 3s. and oats to 2s. a bushel, they shall not be exported: And that whenever they shall respectively amount to one shilling a bushel more, there shall be a reasonable bounty given, for encouraging the importation of them, if found necessary.

That whenever wheat rises to 4s. rye 3s. barley, pease and beans to 2s. and oats to 1s. they shall not be distilled.

That the millers be absolutely prohibited from dealing in corn, grain, or meal, of any sort, or in any shape whatsoever, but be paid for the grinding and dressing a reasonable price in money.

Twopence per bushel for grinding, and a penny for dressing, are the prices they now take, when they are paid in money, instead of the grist or toll; and how far these may be just and reasonable, may be estimated, by computing how much corn a mill, working so many pair of stones, will grind and dress in any given time, the rent and repairs of the mill, the

the expences of horses and servants necessary to bring in the corn, carry out the meal, and attend the grinding and dressing, within that period.

That a set price for such their grinding and dressing, be fixed (pursuant to such computations) for the city, town, village, or hamlet, situate within a certain distance from the mill, and an advance, proportionable to the distance, for what corn and meal they shall fetch in, and carry out farther; and that all persons who shall carry in their corn, and fetch their meal from the mill themselves, shall pay the fixed price as for cities, &c.

But as it may be some time before the public bakers and private families, can reassume their former course of business, of supplying the public and themselves with corn, meal, and bread; it is possible the metropolis, and some of the most populous cities and towns, by this sudden change, may not for some time, be so regularly and well supplied as they should be: It may therefore be proper,

That a discretionary power be reserved to some branch of the magistracy, upon application, or certificate from the principal magistrate of such cities or towns, that such an event has happened, or is likely to happen, to license certain persons, not being millers, or in partnership, or any wise concerned with them, and who shall live and reside either in such cities or towns so applying, or in such places from whence such cities or towns have been usually supplied, to buy bread corn at such places, and sell it again wholesale or retail, either in corn or meal, but to the bakers and private families only of such cities or towns; such licensed corn factors or dealers in corn and meal, either giving sufficient security, by recognizance or otherwise, to the magistrate granting such licence, that he will not buy or sell contrary to the tenor of such licence; or else to be subjected to a large penalty for the transgressing thereof.

That no corn or grain be sold or bought by weight, or by any other measure than the statute or Winchester bushel or strike, established by the 22d of Charles II. and that a penalty be inflicted on offenders, as well for buying as selling by a measure over or under that measure; or by an evasion thereof, by giving or throwing in, or taking or deducting out of all or any part of the quantity bought and sold, any quantity whatsoever, that shall make the quantity so bought or sold, either in part or upon the whole, more or less than what it shall really amount to, and be computed by such bushel or strike, and the price *bona fide* be given, and received for the same.

That no farmers, husbandmen, or occupiers of lands, shall sell more than one bag of bread corn, containing three statute bushels, to any one person in one week, out of market; and

by no less sample than such a bag, in the market; which shall be brought and pitched in open market, but not sold with the bulk or quantity to the bakers, or licensed corn-factors, or mealmen, but to such of the poor or private families, either in parcels, or together, as shall be willing, and offer to give for it the same price, the farmer or farmers shall on the same market day sell the same, or such like bread corn for, to such bakers or licensed mealmen. And that if he has no such poor or private customers for it the first market day, he shall be obliged to bring it into such market a second day; and if not sold then, a third day; and if not so sold then, to be at liberty to sell it to the bakers, or licensed mealmen, or whom he pleases. But if the farmer shall refuse to sell such bag of bread corn, or any part of it, not less than a peck at a time, to such poor or private customer, being offered such price as above, that then such bag of corn, or the value thereof, shall be forfeited to the person or persons so offering to buy the same; and upon information thereof, on the oath of such person, and a third person, who shall be present at such offer, the magistrate to have power to summon such farmer before him, to shew cause against, or disprove, the information: And upon his default therein, and refusal to deliver such bag of corn to the informant, or to pay him the value thereof, such magistrate to order the same, or the value, to be levied on the farmer's goods and chattles.

Troisième Lettre de J. J. Rousseau, à Mr. D.

VOUS trouverez peut-être, mon cher Monsieur, que je me repete; mais qu'importe? L'affectation de composer ces lettres seroit ridicule. Je parle le langage du cœur; faut-il s'étonner, s'il a ses irrégularités? Moins scrupuleux d'une fade exactitude, et d'une délicate variété, que d'un ardent desir de vous donner des preuves de mon souvenir, je ne suivrai d'autre ordre que les épanchemens de mon cœur.

Cher ami! qu'il m'est doux de pouvoir continuer à vous appeler ainsi! Cher ami! que ne puis-je vous posséder ici! ne fût-ce que pour quelques instans: mon cœur se dilateroit, quand je penserois, que c'est vous qui lui procurez ce plaisir. Que la nature est innocente dans ma retraite champêtre! que j'y goûte de satisfaction! La jouissance de tous les trésors me seroit insipide loin du repos dont je jouis dans ma nouvelle solitude. Heureux temps! où créés par un Dieu bienfaisant, nos peres admiroient avec transport les beautés naissantes de l'univers sorti du cahos, temps fortunés! je vous retrouve encore dans ces lieux que je habite. Et vous, mon cher Monsieur, jouissez

jouissez du contentement que doit vous procurer votre tendre pitié : vous avez tâché de faire un heureux ; vous méritez de l'être. Le bonheur inséparable du repos n'est pas fait pour des traîtres.

Homme fourbe ! homme menteur ! homme ! je ne cesserai de te décrier ; tu ne cesses pas tes fourberies, ni tes mensonges. Cher ami ! permettez, de grâce, à mon cœur d'exhaler de temps en temps ses soupirs, et à ma plume de fronder les vices : votre vertu paroîtra de plus en plus par le contraste du coloris.

Oui, homme fier et orgueilleux ! tu as beau étaler ta pompe et ta magnificence ; au travers de tes dehors imposans je découvre ta bassesse, et tu es toujours vil à mes yeux. Puisque tu ne rougis pas de la poussière de ton origine, envisages ta destinée : pétri de boue, tu retourneras à ton premier état. Tu ne vis qu'un instant ; et cet instant, est un orage. Ta naissance, ta vie, ta mort, tout devoit t'abaisser et t'humilier : chose étrange ! cela même te remplit d'orgueil. Tu es aveugle, il est vrai, mais tu te refuses à la lumière. Assures tant que tu voudras, que tu as la raison en partage ; mais, quelle raison ? Raison de préjugé, raison de passion, et non pas une raison pure, saine, éclairée. Cesses de te vanter de la raison ; ce n'est pas elle qui te guide, ce sont tes passions, tes passions fougueuses.

Oui, une lumière qui m'égare, un don qui m'est funeste, une raison qui est pour moi l'apologiste des crimes qui détruisent souvent l'économie de la société, la bonne foi, la droiture, la simplicité ; cette raison cesse dès-lors d'être lumière, don, raison : je préfère les ténèbres, les disgrâces et l'instinct. Flambeau divin ! raison ! tu fus donnée à l'homme innocent, il est vrai ; tu devois être son appanage ; mais l'homme prévaricateur a l'abusé, il a te fait l'apologiste de ses passions : il ne te reçut pas pour un tel usage. Voilà le sort de l'homme ! il pervertit tout.

Semblable à ce feu sacré, que, pendant leur voyage de Babylone, les Israélites cachèrent dans un puits avant leur départ, et à leur retour ils ne trouverent que de la boue, notre raison, qui devoit nous servir à nous éclairer sur nos devoirs, s'obscurcit, le feu sacré s'éteint, on ne trouve plus que des sentimens terrestres, des astres errans, des rayons brisés.

La fascination s'est emparée de nos sens : nous voyons rarement les choses telles qu'elles sont. On réalise des chimères, et on détruit des réalités. Peu attentifs sur nous-mêmes, nous cherissons en nous, ce qu'il y a de plus vil et de méprisable. On idolâtre son corps, on avilit son esprit. On se trompe, et on aime ses erreurs ; mais, voici le pire, on trompe les autres : le plus habile est celui, qui joue son rôle avec plus de finesse

finesse et de dextérité; et pourvu que le fourbe soit adroit, d'autres fourbes le couronnent. Phénomènes de contradiction, nous donnons souvent le nom de bien à ce qui est mal, et le nom de mal à ce qui est bien. Vils jouets de nos passions et de celles des autres, nous comptons nos jours par nos ennuis: le plus heureux parmi nous est souvent celui qui est le moins malheureux; et sûrement, si nous mettions en ligne de compte les maux réels avec les biens imaginaires, la balance ne seroit pas en notre faveur. Mortel aveugle et insensé où est le sujet de ta sotte vanité? Adieu, cher ami! je vous embrasse de tout mon cœur

J. J. ROUSSEAU,

TRANSLATION.

A third Letter from J. J. Rousseau to Mr. D.

YOU will perhaps find, my dear Sir, that I repeat myself; but no matter: the affectation of finishing these letters with an extreme nicety would be ridiculous. I speak the language of the heart: Is it then surprizing, that it has its irregularities? Less anxious about an insipid exactness, and a delicate variety, than an ardent desire to give you proofs of my friendship, I will follow no other order than that suggested by the effusions of my heart.

How agreeable it is, my dear friend, to be able thus to continue my appeals to you! Why cannot I enjoy your company here, were it but for a few moments? My heart would dilate with joy, when I considered, that it was you who procured it that satisfaction. How innocent is nature in this rural retreat! what exquisite pleasures do I here taste! to me the possession of all the treasures in the world would be insipid, deprived of the tranquillity I enjoy in this new and solitary abode. Happy times! when created by the hand of their bountiful Maker, our fathers admired with transport the rising beauties of the universe, sprung from Chaos: fortunate times! I once more find you in the place where I now dwell. And you, my dear sir, may you enjoy that peace and contentment, which are the natural fruit of your sympathizing heart; you have endeavoured to make a fellow-creature happy: You deserve to be so yourself. The happiness inseparable from tranquillity and repose was not made for traitors.

False man! deceitful man! never will I cease my invectives against thee: Thou ceasest not to practise thy falsehoods and deceits. Permit, my dear friend, I beseech thee, my heart thus from time to time, to give vent to its anguish, and my pen to lash vice: Your own virtue will appear the more conspicuous, by the striking contrast of colours.

Yes,

Yes, man! proud and imperious man! display, as much as thou pleasest, thy pomp and magnificence; through the thick veil of thy deceitful outside, I discover thy baseness, and in my eyes thou art ever contemptible. Since thou bluntest not at the meanness of thy origin, behold thy destiny: Composed of dust, thou shalt return to thy first condition. Thy life is but a moment; and that moment is a storm. Thy birth, thy life, thy death, every thing ought to fill thee with humility and abasement; but, strange as it may seem, these very things fill thee with pride. Thou art blind, it is true; but thou shuttest thy eyes against the light. Affirm, as confidently as thou wilt, that thou partakest of reason: But what reason? The reason of prejudice, the reason of passion; and not that reason which is pure, sound, and enlightened. Cease then to boast of reason: It is not reason that guides thee; 'tis thy passions, thy furious and headstrong passions.

No; I repeat it: A light that leads me astray; a gift that is fatal to me; a reason that serves me as an apology for crimes destructive of the order of society, of honesty, integrity, sincerity; that reason is no longer a light, gift, or reason: I prefer to it darkness, obscurity, and instinct. Reason! torch divine! thou wast given to man, it is true, in his state of innocence; thou oughtest to be his portion: but man, perverse man, hath abused thee, and made thee an apologist for his passions; purpose, sure, far different from that for which he received thee. But such is the nature of man, he perverts every thing.

Like the sacred fire, which, in their journey from Babylon, the Israelites hid in a well before their departure, and at their return found nothing but dirt; our reason, which ought to serve us as a monitor of our duty, becomes obscure; the sacred fire is extinct; and we no longer find any thing but earthly sentiments, wandering stars, and scattered rays.

The fascination hath even laid hold of our senses: Seldom do we see things as they actually are: We realize chimeras: We destroy realities. Little attentive to our own nature, or to our interest, we cherish in ourselves what is most vile and despicable. We idolize our body; we undervalue our mind. We deceive ourselves; and we are fond of our errors: But, what is still worse, we deceive others: The most accomplished is he, that plays his part with the greatest dexterity and address; and provided the trick be well managed, other tricks must finish the cheat. The vile sport of our own passions, and of those of others, we reckon our days by our disgusts: The most happy among us, is frequently he that is least wretched; and surely, if we compare our real miseries with our imaginary blessings, the balance will not turn out in our favour.

Where

Where then, thou blind and stupid mortal ! where is the subject of thy ridiculous vanity ! Adieu, my dear friend ! I am, you most cordially—

J. J. ROUSSEAU.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

As the Political Register contains many useful and entertaining hints, I have sent a short comparative view between *Rome*, *Britain*, and *Corsica*; if you think it worthy of a place in your Register, you may insert it this month. And you will probably hear further from yours, &c.

Parliament-Street, Jan. 12, 1768.

A. B.

A comparative View between ROME, BRITAIN, and CORSICA.

WHEN ROME was arrived at the pinnacle of glory, in the senate and the field, the very name of a Roman was revered in every quarter of the globe; but, alas! the once famed Rome is now obscured, and the shining orators in the Roman senate are no more. Their works are, indeed, handed down to posterity, and we there see the noble speeches they made in behalf of Liberty, and the valour of their troops, which inspired their youth with an ardent ambition to imitate their fires.

BRITAIN has experienced, for many years, that Liberty which the Romans once gloried in; and the many conquests made by the British arms, during the last war, have made the name of a Briton to be respected by every foreign power. We speak, we write; and such is the liberty of the press, it is open to every one. Happy will it be for Britain, if she is not past the zenith of her glory. Discontent dwells in the breasts of many; and we seem to look with a jealous eye on the extensive continent across the Atlantic, as if we were fearful that Liberty was on the wing, and was going to shed her balmy sweets on the American shore.

CORSICA, an island in the Mediterranean, is now rearing up its head, and struggling for Liberty, under the wise conduct of GENERAL PAOLI, who has had the command of a brave people for many years, and has nobly withstood tyrannic power; and his endeavours afford the pleasing prospect of success. The Corsicans are naturally a brave and warlike people. I was well pleased the other day to hear, that "an opulent merchant of the city of London had left a considerable fortune to the brave people of Corsica." How much better is it to have

a man's

a man's name, and patriotic spirit, thus handed down to posterity, by leaving a fortune to a people, from no other motive but a regard to Liberty, than if a person had left it to an individual, to assume his name, and bear his arms, or to the building of an hospital or an alms-house. The latter generally proceeds from a consciousness of having done something in our past life, which will not bear the test. He then leaves a sum of money to erect a building, which, in a few years, will perish with his memory. But the former is moved with a truly noble and generous spirit. The fire of Liberty being kindled in the breast, displays itself in every patriotic action; and it never appears more conspicuous, than when a person seals his wishes in his last moments. This distinguishes the man, the patriot, and the true friend of liberty.

For the **POLITICAL REGISTER.**

Reflections on the Trade of the Colonies.

IT has been the policy of all nations to secure to themselves the trade of their colonies, and the right of supplying them with whatever goods or manufactures they want. For it would be absurd to suppose, that a government would permit a migration of so many of its people; and, after having been at the expence of protecting and supporting the infant colony, would suffer them to set up any manufactures, or carry on any trade, that would be prejudicial to the mother-country. It is an observation of Sir Josiah Child, that all plantations enslave their mother kingdoms, where the trades of such plantations are not confined to their mother kingdoms by good laws and a severe execution of them. This being a true state of the case with regard to colonies, what must we think of the New England men, who assembled at Trenchard-hall in Boston, the 28th of October last, and of the resolutions they then came to; an extract of which is as follows:—

“ That this town will take all prudent and legal measures to encourage the manufactures of this province, and to lessen the use of *superfluities*; particularly of the following articles imported from abroad, viz. leaf-tobacco, cordage, anchors, hats, horse furniture, household furniture, gloves, shoes, broad cloths above ten shillings a yard, and many other commodities therein mentioned. Voted also, that they would encourage the consumption of glass and paper made in any of the British American colonies: And that divers new manufactures may be set up there, they also agreed to a subscription, whereby they promise and engage to encourage the use and consumption of all articles

articles manufactured in any of the said colonies; and that they would not, after the 31st of December 1767, purchase any of the above-mentioned articles imported from abroad."—The meaning of all which in plain English, is, that they will not let this kingdom receive any benefit from the duties laid on goods imported into America, if they can help it.

If the people of the northern colonies will persist in setting up manufactures, and this nation will submit to it; they should certainly be confined to their home consumption. For our manufacturers have, I conceive, a right to expect, that they shall have the sole supplying of our sugar colonies with all they want in their way; or at least as far as they are capable of doing it; in compensation for the loss of trade they must inevitably sustain, by the same manufactures being carried on in North America; particularly with beaver hats, candles, soap, saddles and other manufactures of leather, axes and other iron ware, and many more commodities, which are sent to our sugar colonies partly from hence, and partly from North America. Our trade is said to be on the decline in most parts of Europe; the plantation trade is the only one we can restrain or command, and we should be greatly wanting to ourselves, if we did not give our utmost attention to it. This trade from the northern colonies might be easily prevented, as a great part of it is contrary to law.

The North Americans have encroached upon Great Britain in several branches of trade, and in navigation too; and are now attempting to set up several manufactures, that they may be as independent of this kingdom as possible: but as it is allowed by one of their ablest advocates, that the supreme legislative power of this kingdom has a right to bind the colonists by her laws, by her regulations, by her restrictions in trade, in navigation, and in manufactures, it may be reasonably concluded, that something will be done for the relief of our manufacturers, and for securing the trade of this kingdom.

Ministers in general have been unwilling to attempt any reformation in our colonies, lest it might create them a little trouble. But how that there is a nobleman of application and abilities appointed to preside, in a peculiar manner, over our American affairs; it is the general expectation, that measures will be soon taken for putting the trade and manufactures of our colonies under proper regulations, for relieving the distresses of our manufacturers, and for reducing the North Americans to a due obedience, and subordination to the legislature of this kingdom. All the information that can be desired, for the perfecting this great and necessary work, may be had from the commissioners lately sent to America.

A—X.

January 9, 1768.

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW OF NEW BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, &c.

Makaroni Fables; with the new Fable of the Bees. In two Cantos. Addressed to the Society. By Cosmo, Mythogelastick Professor, and F. M. S. 4to. 2s. 6d. Almon.

THESE fables abound with wit and satire, and there is moreover a novelty, or, if the reader pleases, an originality in the style, that renders them peculiarly pleasing. The Fable of the Bees, in particular, has great merit; and cannot fail of affording to every reader of taste, a most delicious entertainment. The bringing a late Commoner to court, and creating him a peer, is very archly depicted in a short digression, where Reynard says to the physicians who are attending the sick Lion,

————— I must proceed
To tell my sov'reign of his cure,
His royal heart, I know, will bleed;
I feel myself, what he'll endure:
A Wolf must presently be got,
In such a case it is no sin,
Flay him alive, and piping hot
Wrap the King up in the Wolf's skin.
Thus Sir, if you will be directed,
Your pains will quickly be abated,
The morbid matter be ejected,
And health and vigour re-instated.
The Lion rising from his bed,
Proceeding without any heat,
With one stroke only on the head,
Lay'd the Wolf breathless at his feet:
For simple vanity indited,
If the Mole's exile was decreed,
I think the Wolf that's so sharp-sighted,
Was with the greatest justice flay'd,
For to vain-glory and weak pride,
He added perfidy beside.

There are many political allusions in different parts, which are very beautiful, and very severe; but which the reader, with
Q
a little

a little attention, will easily discover, without the assistance of a key.

The two following Fables, which have not the most distant connexion with politics, are equal to any thing in La Fontaine. —The Black Bird is the ingenious and justly admired author of Trifram Shandy.

FABLE IV. The BLACK BIRD.

IN concert with the curfew bell,
 An Owl was chaunting Vespers in his cell ;
 Upon the outside of the wall,
 A Black Bird, famous in that age,
 From a bow window in the hall,
 Hung dangling in a wicker cage ;
 Instead of psalmody and pray'rs,
 Like those good children of St. Francis ;
 He secularized all his airs,
 And took delight in Wanton Fancies.
 Whilst the bell toll'd, and the Owl chaunted,
 Every thing was calm and still ;
 All nature seem'd rapt'd and enchanted,
 Except the querelous, unthankful rill ;
 Unawed by this imposing scene,
 Our Black Bird the enchantment broke ;
 Flourish'd a sprightly air between,
 And whistled the Black Joke.
 This lively unexpected motion,
 Set nature in a gayer light ;
 Quite over-turn'd the Monks devotion,
 And scatter'd all the gloom of night.
 I have been taught in early youth,
 By an expert Metaphysician ;
 That ridicule's the test of truth,
 And only match for superstition.
 Imposing rogues, with looks demure,
 At Rome keep all the world in awe ;
 Wit is profane, learning impure,
 And reasoning against the Law ;
 Between two tapers and a book,
 Upon a dresser clean and neat,
 Behold a sacerdotal Cook,
 Cooking a dish of heavenly meat !
 How fine he curtsies ! Make your bow,
 Thump your breast soundly, beat your poll ;
 Lo ! he has toss'd up a Ragout,
 To fill the belly of your soul.

Even

Even here there are some holy men,
Would fain lead people by the nose ;
Did not a Black Bird now and then,
Benevolently interpose.
My good Lord Bishop, Mr. Dean,
You shall get nothing by your spite ;
Triftram shall whistle at your spleen,
And put Hypocrisy to flight.

TABLE V. POUR MOI MEME.

WITHIN a Joyner's Shop upon a Stool,
With countenance serene and grave ;
A Cat examin'd every tool,
As nicely as Rousseau's Elève.
A File that understood its trade,
Provoked her Ladyship past bearing ;
Observing the great waste it made,
By clipping artfully and paring.
I'll serve you your own way you knave,
For that, says Puss, let me alone ;
I'll lick you with my tongue you slave,
'Till I have lick'd you to the bone.
She lick'd till her whole tongue was bleed,
And laugh'd to see the villain bleed ;
With blood he was all over red,
Determining the File to kill ;
The Cat lick'd on believing still,
It was the File and not her tongue that bled.
My Gardner, my Coachman John,
My Groom, my Butler, the whole corps,
Are objects to vent spleen upon,
Whene'er the bilious pot boils o'er ;
But I'll grow better when I'm able,
To fume and fret is not worth while ;
I am the Cat that bleeds in Fable,
My Family—the unfeeling File.

The Fable of the Tortoise succeeds, and is a fine satire on the vanity and folly of an incapable minister.

A Collection of the most valuable Tracts which appeared during the Years 1764, 1765, 1766, and 1767. In Four Volumes, 8vo. 1l. 4s. Almon.

SEVERAL of these tracts are indeed very valuable ; and cannot fail of being held in the highest esteem by every true friend to English Liberty. This attempt therefore to preserve

serve them in volumes, is not only a prudent, but a laudable endeavour. They may be useful hereafter: At least, they are a memento of the late struggles for Liberty, and the other points of Opposition, during the above-mentioned years.

THE FIRST VOLUME contains,

1. *A Defence of the Minority in the House of Commons, on the question relating to General Warrants.* This tract was written by the late Right Hon. Charles Townsend, and is in every respect worthy of his masterly pen, and great abilities. It contains an account of the manner of bringing this question before the house, and of the arguments there made use of, for and against it.

2. *A reply to the Defence of the Majority on the question relating to General Warrants.* This tract is ascribed to Sir William Meredith, Bart. It is on the same subject as the former; and contains several additional particulars.

3. *A Letter to the Public Advertiser.* Contains very keen, and very severe remarks on some parts of the Law proceedings, in the several prosecutions at that time carried on against printers and publishers. It was written by the same author as the following.

4. *A Letter concerning Libels, Warrants, the Seizure of Papers, and Sureties for the Peace or Behaviour; with a view to some late Proceedings, and the Defence of them by the Majority, With the Postscript, and an Appendix.* This is the most valuable tract in the whole collection; nay, perhaps, we risk nothing in saying, that it is, without exception, the best, and the most sensible work in our language, on the true constitutional rights of Englishmen.—This is the tract for which the Publisher was so long and so severely prosecuted, by the extraordinary mode of *Attachment*.

THE SECOND VOLUME contains,

1. *The Security of Englishmen's lives: Or the trust, power and duty, of the Grand Jurors of England, explained according to the fundamentals of the English Government, and the declaration of the same made in Parliament by many statutes. First printed in the year 1681. Written by the Right Hon. John Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham, and Lord High Chancellor of England.* This able and masterly performance deserves the most serious attention of all persons liable to be called upon as Grand Jurymen. They will here find the trust that is reposed in them, and the duty which they owe to their country, very fully explained by law, and properly enforced by strong arguments:

2. *The Trials of John Peter Zenger, of New York, Printer, and of William Owen, Bookseller in London, both for the publication*

lication of Libels. These are both remarkable trials; and in them are to be found all the arguments that ever have been, or perhaps that ever can be, used, in support of the Liberty of the Press, against malicious and arbitrary prosecutions.

3. *The right of appeal to Juries in causes of Excise, asserted.* This is a very sensible performance; and was occasioned by the late excise on cyder and perry.

4. *Thoughts on the dismissal of officers, civil or military, for their conduct in Parliament.* Written on the dismissal of the Generals A'Court and Conway. It is however but an indifferent performance.

5. *A counter-address to the public, on a late dismissal of a general officer.* This sensible and well written tract is ascribed to the Hon. Horace Walpole. The subject is the dismissal of General Conway, which the author has handled like a gentleman, and a friend to his country.

6. *A collection of all the remarkable and personal passages, in the Briton, North Briton, and Auditor.* This is, in fact, a collection of nothing but the personal abuse that was thrown out by both sides. The names are printed at full length, so that the reader cannot doubt who is meant in every passage.

THE THIRD VOLUME contains,

1. *The principles of the changes in 1765 impartially examined.* There is a great deal of good sense and strong argument in this pamphlet; which was written in support of those reasons that induced Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, to decline the offers made to them by the Duke of Cumberland, of coming into high offices at that time. It also contains the reasons for dismissing Mr. G. and his colleagues, and bears hard upon those who succeeded them.

2. *The History of the Minority, during the years 1762, 1763, 1764, and 1765, exhibiting the conduct, principles and views of that party.* Contains a prodigious number of important and interesting facts, which are no where else to be met with.

3. *A short account of a late short administration: and, A true history of a late short administration.* The latter is an answer to the former. They contain a recapitulation of the principal transactions during the Marquis of Rockingham's administration,

THE FOURTH VOLUME contains,

1. *An enquiry into the conduct of a late Right Hon. Commoner.* This pamphlet contains an account of the conference at Hampstead in 1766 between Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt; and several other particulars relative to the conduct of the late commoner, which before that time were very little known.

2. *An*

2. *An examination of the principles and boasted disinterestedness of a late Right Hon. Gentleman.* In a letter from an old man of business to a noble Lord. The noble Lord to whom this tract is addressed, is said to be Lord North; and it is not unapplicable to his acceptance at that time of half a bed in the Pay-office. Great part of the pamphlet is on the same subject as the preceding one; but it contains several additional particulars.

3. *Short considerations upon some late extraordinary grants, and other particulars of a late patriot's conduct.* These grants consist of that extravagant profusion of pensions and reversions made by the late commoner on his coming into office in 1766. There is likewise some mention made of Mr. Grey Cooper's extraordinary pension, which is arch enough.

4. *A free appeal to the people of Great Britain, on the conduct of the administration.* A severe scrutiny into the conduct of the Earl of Chatham, and his ministers, from their entering into office in July 1766, to the end of that year.

5. *A speech against the suspending and dispensing prerogative.* This speech contains all the law, and all the arguments, that were made use of in a certain place, against the pretended legality of the proclamation, dispensing with, and actually suspending, the laws of the land. It is certainly not the speech of any single person; though the eloquence of a Great Lawyer is to be traced for several pages, in different parts. It is, in fact, the substance of all that was said on both sides, thrown into the form of one speech; and that by way of answer to what had been said in defence of the necessity, and legality of the measure. Next to the celebrated letter on libels and warrants, this is the most valuable tract in the collection.

6. *A letter to his Grace the Duke of Grafton.* This letter is written by Mr. Wilkes; and contains many interesting particulars relative to his case, and the ill usage he has met with from those who have been benefited by his misfortunes.

7. *A view of the several changes made in the administration of government, since the accession of his present Majesty.* This is a very curious, and a very extraordinary list; and is certainly deserving of a place in this collection, as a memento of the folly and fickleness of these times.

Rhetoric; or a View of its principal Tropes and Figures, &c.
By Thomas Gibbons, D. D. 8vo. 6s. Buckland.

TROPES and figures are, in some measure, to language, what the soul is to the body; they enliven what would otherwise be a lifeless mass. The present work is formed upon nearly the same plan with Blackwell's Introduction to the Classics, and Ward's System of Oratory; but is far from being executed

cutted in such a masterly manner. The author neither discovers so sound a judgment, nor so elegant a taste as either of these writers, in the passages he quotes for the illustration of his Rules, or in the reflections he makes upon them. For example he cites the following lines of Dr. Young, as an instance of a finished metaphor:

Eternity's vast ocean lies before thee.
Give thy mind Sea-room; keep it wide of Earth,
That rock of Souls immortal; cut thy Cord;
Weigh anchor; spread thy sail; call every wind;
Eye thy great Pole-star; make the land of Life.

Is not this metaphor, in the style of critics, fairly *bunted down*?

The Dramatic Time-Piece; Or, Perpetual Monitor. - Being a calculation of the length of time every act takes in the performing, in all the acting plays at the Theatres-Royal of Drury-lane, Covent-garden, and Hay-market, as minuted from repeated observations, during the course of many years practice: As also the time of night when half-price will be taken, and the certain period when any play will be over. By J. Brownsmith, Prompter to the Theatres-Royal in the Hay-market. 8vo. 1s. Almon and T. Davies.

THIS is a publication of a very new and singular nature; perhaps the best account of it, will be an extract from the author's own preface.

"Recourse being had to *this book*, says he, any nobleman, gentleman, &c. who may have *carriages*, or *servants* in waiting, or *appointments* to attend at any particular hour, may at all times (within a few minutes) be assured of the time, as punctually as if minuted by their *watches*, only by allowing for incidental *entertainments* between the acts, such as songs, dances, &c.

"The *UTILITY* of *this piece* is manifold, as it will (if duly attended to) prevent their cattle from *catching cold*, by waiting so long at the doors of the playhouses in *bad weather*, a circumstance heretofore unavoidable; it will also be a means of their servants *staying at home*, till within a very little of their time of attendance, instead of assembling in *public houses*, or houses of *ill fame*, to the destruction of their *morals*, *properties*, and *constitutions*.

"It will likewise be infinitely serviceable to *all those* whom business may prevent attending a play till after the third act, which is commonly called "*The latter account of it*;" for by
only

only allowing seven minutes between each act, for the intervening music, they will always be certain of the time *any act* will be over."

An Apology for Lord B. in a letter to his Lordship: With an address to the Town. 8vo. 1s. Flexney.

A Private occurrence between a person of distinguished rank, and a female, having engrossed the conversation of the town, and occasioned, perhaps, some reflections on one of the parties, this apologist steps forth, and entreats the public to suspend their judgment:

Memoirs of the Seraglio of the Bashaw of Merryland. By a discarded Sultana. 8vo. 1s. 6d. Bladon.

LIKE the preceding article, a mere catch-penny.

The Rape. A Poem. 4to. 1s. Steare.

A Poem so replete with nonsense, malignity and dullness, we do not remember to have read.

The Plain Question was she ravished or not? 4to. 1s. Bingley.

ANother poetical performance, and perhaps too plain.

The History of a late infamous Adventure, between a great Man and a fair citizen. In a Series of Letters from a Lady near St. James's to her Friend in the Country. 8vo. 1s. Bingley.

IS prettily written, and has the specious appearance of being circumstantial; though, in fact, it is all a fiction.—There is in this pamphlet, a singular and extraordinary anecdote concerning Lady Mary Wortley Montague's letters; which is, that the fourth, or additional volume of those letters, was written by the author of the comedy called the Widow'd Wife. If this be true, it is a most scandalous trick.

An Essay upon Prints; containing Remarks upon the Principles of picturesque Beauty, the different Kinds of Prints, and the Characters of the most noted Masters; illustrated by Criticisms upon particular Pieces; to which are added, some Cautions that may be useful in collecting Prints. 12mo. 3s 6d. Robson.

THIS essay will be of great use, as well to the young Artist, as to the young Connoisseur. The author discovers equal taste and judgment in his reflections; but as he sometimes

sometimes considers the same artist under the different characters of an *Engraver*, an *Etcher*, and a *Mezzotinto Scraper*; there is a *Sameness* in his observations, which perhaps, however, was altogether unavoidable in a criticism upon Prints.

Critical Dissertations on the Origin, Antiquities, Language, Government, Manners, and Religion, of the ancient Caledonians; their Posterity the Picts, and the British and Irish Scots. By John Macpherson, D. D. Minister of State in the Isle of Sky. 4to. 10s. 6d. Becket.

A Subject naturally dry and insipid, at least to the generality of people, is here rendered agreeable, by the sensible and ingenious manner in which it is treated; and we will venture to assure such of our readers, as shall take the trouble of looking into these dissertations, that they will meet with as much entertainment, and more entertainment, than they could possibly expect to find in a work of this nature: We cannot, however, help remarking, that some of the dissertations turn upon a very idle and frivolous dispute between the Irish and Scotch Highlanders, about the superior antiquity of their respective nations; which calls strongly to our mind, a scene in the farce of *Love à-la-mode*, where an Irishman and a Highlander are introduced fighting about the *honour* (as the author wittily expresses it) of *Sir Archy's great grandmother*.

An Answer to a Pamphlet intitled, "Thoughts on the Causes and Consequences of the present high Price of Provisions." In a Letter addressed to the supposed Author of that Pamphlet. By a Gentleman of Cambridge. 8vo. 6d. Bingley.

IN some places very smart, and very pertinent. And upon the whole, deserves to be read by those who have read the *Thoughts*.

The poetical Works of the Right Hon. Lady M——y W——y M——e. Small Octavo. 2s. Williams.

THESE poems are to be found scattered in different parts of Mr. Doddsley's collection, and other publications. The chief merit therefore, is the collecting and printing them in a volume of the same size as her ladyship's letters; to which, however, they may be considered as no improper supplement.

Practical Directions shewing a method of preserving the Perinæum in Birth, and delivering the Placenta without Violence. Illustrated by Cases. By John Harvie, M. D. Teacher of Midwifery. 8vo. 1s. 6d. Wilson.

DEserves to be read with the most serious attention by every pupil and practitioner in Midwifery.

A Review of the Venereal Disease, and its Remedies. By William Fordyce, Surgeon. 8vo, 2s. Cadell.

A Very judicious and sensible treatise on every stage of that disorder.

A full and plain Account of the Gout : From whence will be clearly seen the Folly or the Baseness of all Pretenders to the Cure of it. In which every thing material by the best Writers on that Subject is taken Notice of, and accompanied with some new and important Instructions for its Relief, which the Author's Experience in the Gout, above 30 Years, hath induced him to impart. By Ferd. Warner, L. L. D. Chaplin to the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor. 8vo. 3s. 6d. Cadell.

TO see a clergyman write on physic, is something singular. But when we consider, that experience is the best physician in this disorder, and that Doctor Warner has been near thirty years afflicted with it, we cannot but rejoice, that a gentleman of his good sense and abilities should contribute to the cultivation of the ample field of medical science. The observations he has made, during his former long and severe fits, and the methods of cure he has applied, by which he has reduced them to a short and regular state, will, to every gentleman who is so unhappy to be afflicted with the Gout, render this book particularly interesting.

On Card-playing. In a Letter from Monsieur de Pinto to Monsieur Diderot. With a Translation from the Original, and Observations by the Translator. 8vo. 1s. Walter, Almon, &c.

Monsieur de Pinto writes like a philosopher, and a man who knows the world. His letter is very pleasing, and the observations upon it are very judicious.

Considerations on the Effects which the Bounties granted on exported Corn, Malt and Flour, have on the Manufactures of the Kingdom, and the true Interests of the State, &c. 8vo. 2s. Cadell.

THIS gentleman considers the bounties on the exportation of corn, as very injurious to manufactures; which he affirms, are the principal riches of a State; while the land he makes but a secondary consideration. Those who are of this opinion, will, doubtless, read this tract with pleasure, but those who are of a contrary opinion, will not find in it arguments sufficient to alter their sentiments.

The

THE POLITICAL BAROMETER.

THE late ministerial changes, together with the motives thereto, were given in the last Number. There is nothing to add, but that Robert Wood, Esq; is appointed under secretary to Lord Weymouth; that Richard Phelps, Esq; who was under secretary to Lord Sandwich, is appointed under secretary to Lord Hillsborough; whose new office of Secretary of State for America, is kept at the Treasury, in that part where the Duke of Newcastle formerly had lodgings; and that such is the present divided and inharmonious state of the ministers, that those who know the most of their situation, make no scruple of asserting, they cannot stand six months as they are.

"We hear, that the case of a claim, made by the crown upon part of the estate of a certain nobleman in the opposition, is as follows: The said nobleman had considerable grants from the crown, which have been renewed from time to time; but in the last renewal, a tract of forest land has been lately found to have been omitted by mistake. The value is inconsiderable, not above 70l. a year; but in point of interest, it is considerable, as every house on the forest, which is entitled to feed four cows, has a vote for the county, wherein at present there is a strong contest for members." *Gazetteer.*

This transaction is a signal proof of the power of the Thane, and of the humiliation of the minister. Application was made to the late Mr. C—— T——, to obtain a grant of this tract, in favour of the person to whom it is now made, but he absolutely refused to interfere in it, while the contested election was depending. In like manner, a grant somewhat similar was solicited for, when Mr. G—— was minister, in prejudice of the D. of D. but Mr. G. refused to ask for it, saying, the attacking of private property in that manner, was a thing too serious.

E R R A T A.

PAGE 30. last line, for the Hon. Mr. Grey, read Mr. Fanshawe. And in Page 29. last line, dele the name of Lord Tyrone; his Lordship did not sign that protest.

*Two extraordinary Letters from the Public Papers.**An Address to the LIVERYMEN of London.*

AT a meeting called at the King's Arms tavern for that purpose, I see it has been recommended to us, to chuse for a representative for the City of London, a gentleman from Boston. What the particular obligations are, the City of

London owes to the town of Boston, those gentlemen will be pleased to inform us, who direct us to look thither for a City Member. But it unfortunately happens, that at the very time while these gentlemen are wishing us to think so highly of a Boston education, and recommending to us a gentleman trained up in all the principles of that loyal and obedient town, the people of Boston are so very little desirous of our good opinion, that they are openly avowing the most unfriendly dispositions towards us; and endeavouring, as far as is in their power, to ruin almost every branch of the trade of this city.

At a meeting of the freeholders, and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, assembled at their town hall for that purpose, on Wednesday the 28th of September, 1767, an association was entered into, by which they promise and engage, that they will not, from and after the 31st of December, purchase any of the following articles:

Loaf Sugar	Diamond, stone, and paste ware
Cordage	Snuff
Anchors	Mustard
Coaches, chaises, and carriages	Clocks and watches
of all sorts	Silversmith and jewellers ware
House Furniture	Broad cloths that cost above
Men and womens hats	ten shillings per yard
Men and womens apparel ready made	Muffs, furs and tippets
Household Furniture	All sorts of millinery ware
Gloves	Starch
Men and womens shoes	Stays, women and childrens
Sole Leather	Fire Engines
Sheathing and deck nails	China Ware
Gold and silver thread lace, of	Silk and cotton velvets
all sorts.	Gauze
Gold and silver buttons	Pewterers hollow ware
Wrought plate of all sorts	Silks of all kinds for garments
	Malt liquors and cheese

Though none of the other provinces will be weak enough probably to be led by these Boston incendiaries, yet it will not be their fault if all our American colonies do not combine together against our trade in the same manner; for not content with having entered into this association for themselves, they have also unanimously resolved, "That the foregoing vote, and form of a subscription, relative to the enumerated articles, be immediately published; and that the select men be directed to distribute a proper number of them among the freeholders of this town; and to forward a copy of the same to the select men of every town in the province; as also to the principal city or town officers of the chief towns of the several colonies on the continent, as they may think proper."

Their

Their countrymen and abettors here, very affectedly give out, that the people of Boston have done this only to enable themselves to pay their debts. But although that might be a reason for their buying nothing of us themselves, yet it could be none for their thus exciting all the other colonies not to deal with us. Should the gentlemen of Virginia, for instance, take the advice of these Bostonmen, (which they most certainly will not) will the people of Virginia, &c. by withholding their orders, enable the men of Boston to pay their debts? This extraordinary endeavour, therefore, to persuade all the other colonies to refuse to trade with us, proves, that it was malice, not parsimony, which prompted them to this combination; and that the real intention of it was not to relieve themselves, but to distress us.

Whatever may be the evil disposition which those people bear to their parent-country, I have remarked, that they scarce ever have ventured upon any particular measures of expressing their ill-will, which have not been first advised or suggested to them from their correspondents here. And accordingly, upon looking over some of the Boston Gazettes, in that of the 28th of September last, I find the following article, viz.

The following Extract of a Letter from a Merchant in London, to his Friend in this town, we are requested to insert.

London, June 17, 1767.

"Yesterday the bill for suspending the legislation of New York, until the said colony shall comply with the mutiny act, and for establishing a board of customs, were read a second time in the House of Lords; and the bill of commercial taxation passed in the same house, to be ingrossed. With respect to providing for the troops, no opposition is so reasonable, because none can be so effectual, as that which procured the repeal of the stamp-act, viz. the general engagement to import no goods from England, till such a taxation be removed or disclaimed by a repeal of the act. And the efficacy of this mode of opposition, could never be more assuredly depended upon, than at present; because that the manufactures can but barely support themselves under the present scarcity of provisions, and slackness of trade; which is so great a discouragement, that although wool never was dearer in England, than now, yet cloths are 20 per cent. cheaper than ever was known, so that should your demand cease for a year or two, the utmost you can desire would be effected here, without any unconstitutional opposition on your parts, &c."

What merchant it was who could write such a letter as this, I am not in the least degree qualified to guess: He could not surely have been an English one. A truly British heart
must

must have felt compassion for the distresses of the poor, and would have wished for the means of *lessening* their wants; not have been a prompter to the most cruel methods of *increasing* them. For the honour of humanity itself, therefore, I would hope, that there is but one town in all his Majesty's dominions, that could breed men capable of thus hardening themselves against all the impressions of it. All good subjects, Britons and Americans, know, that the interest of both countries is the same; and that they are all united under his Majesty in one common-wealth. Throughout that whole British empire, therefore, let it be known, that the turbulent spirits of Boston only are sowing dissention, and publickly taking measures to separate them. And may they ever have the merit of being the single town in America, that is capable of sending men, under the guise of merchants, to act as spies amongst us; to watch for, and give notice of any public calamities; and to instruct their countrymen how to take advantage of them.

It will still, I hope, be remembered, that I do not in the least aim at any particular person, as the writer of this letter. I do not mean to lay it to the charge of any particular merchants whatsoever. But as their Boston correspondents have thought fit to let us know of the advice which has been given them, and to send the letter back to us, all that is intended by this republication, is to let my fellow liverymen see what these Boston people are; and to hand it in among the gentlemen of the committee, in order to know, whether any of them will take it up; or if it be a conception of too black a feature for them to filiate, to beg that they will find out the father, and pass it on to its proper parent.

In the mean time, the gentlemen will be pleased to spare their recommendations, and leave the Livery of London to judge for themselves; at least, it is hoped, that they will not hold us so very cheap, as to think, at the very time when the freemen of Boston have come to a public resolution to take nothing from us, that the Liverymen of London have so little understanding as to take a representative from them.

A LIVERYMAN of London.

The following was published by way of Answer to the foregoing.

OBSERVING in your paper of yesterday, an Address to the worthy Liverymen of London, containing, among other false and malignant insinuations, the copy of a pretended letter of the 17th of June last, to a merchant at Boston (where most probably it was fabricated) insinuating that it was probably
wrote

wrote by Mr. Alderman Trecothick, I therefore think it necessary to convey to that respectable body, the real sentiments of the Alderman, as well as the body of merchants trading to North America, as they stand collected in a general letter, wrote upon the repeal of the Stamp-act, to the merchants in Boston, and the several provinces of North America,

I am Sir, Your's, &c.

A LIVERY MAN.

P. S. I am authorised to say, That Mr. Alderman Trecothick knows nothing of the pretended letter of the 10th of June, and that its contents are directly opposite to his sentiments.

(C O P Y.)

GENTLEMEN,

London, March 18, 1766.

WE have now the satisfaction of informing you by Capt. Wray, sent by us express, in the ship Dispatch, that the Bill for repealing the Stamp-act received the Royal Assent this day.

To enumerate the difficulties we have had in this affair, would be a disagreeable task to us, as it might seem calculated to enhance our own merit, at the expence of characters whom we respect for their situations; however they may have been induced to act a part we could not approve, or thoroughly reconcile to the true interest of the British empire.

Nevertheless, we think ourselves intitled, from the pains we have taken to serve you, to the privilege of imparting our sentiments on your past and future conduct, with that freedom and impartiality which observation and experience dictate.

You must know better than to imagine that any well regulated government will suffer laws, enacted with a view to public good, to be disputed by lawless rioters, with impunity.

There is no government so perfect, but that through misinformation, and the frailties even of the most elevated human understandings, mistakes, or at least the appearance of such, may arise in the conduct of affairs, even in the wisest legislature; but, is it just, is it tolerable, that without proof of inconvenience, tumultuous force should be encouraged by a part, to fly in the face of power established for the good of the whole? We are persuaded, gentlemen, that you cannot be of that opinion, and that you will exert your utmost endeavours to cancel the remembrance of such flagrant breaches of public order, and to manifest your gratitude and affection to your mother country, which, by the repeal of this act, has given such an incontestible proof of her moderation.

What sentiments you ought to entertain on this occasion, and what conduct we would wish you to observe, will sufficiently appear from our former letter, dated the 28th of February last, and

and sent by the first conveyance, the moment we could inform you, with any degree of certainty, what was likely to be the fate of the stamp-act.

We shall only observe, that, under providence, you are indebted for this event, to the clemency and paternal regard of his Majesty for the happiness of his subjects; to the public spirit, abilities and firmness, of the present administration; and to the humanity, prudence, and patriotism of the generality of those who compose the legislature; and the most considerable persons of every rank in this kingdom.

We hope gentlemen, that this conduct in the British legislature, provoked by the most irritating measures on your side, will for ever be a lesson to your posterity, as it is the most convincing proof, that if by any means laws are, or should be enacted, detrimental, or seemingly oppressive to any part of the British subjects, the British legislature will, at all times, with the utmost tenderness, consider every grievance, and redress them the moment they are known.

We cannot but acquaint you, that had the Americans endeavoured to acquiesce with the law, and dutifully represented the hardships as they arose, your relief *would* have been more speedy, and we should have avoided many difficulties, as well as not a few *unanswerable* mortifying reproaches on your account.

Such, however, is the patriotism and magnanimity of those in power, that, unaffected by the conduct of many on your side the water, and the strenuous efforts of an opposition here, to every measure of lenity and indulgence towards America, they are endeavouring to establish its commerce in particular, as well as that of the British empire in general, upon the most solid foundation, and the most extensive plan of utility.

On your parts we hope that nothing will be wanting to obliterate the remembrance of what is passed, by setting the example yourselves, and promoting the like sentiments in others, of a dutiful attachment to your sovereign, and the interests of your mother country, a just submission to the laws, and respect to the legislature: for in this you are most effectually promoting your own happiness and security.

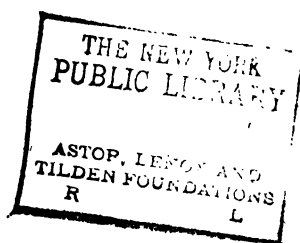
By a conduct like this, gentlemen, you will both encourage and enable us to serve you with zeal on future emergencies should any such arise, and to support our mutual interests, the interests of the colonies, which are inseparable from the common interests of Great Britain, with efficacy and success.

We are, Gentlemen,

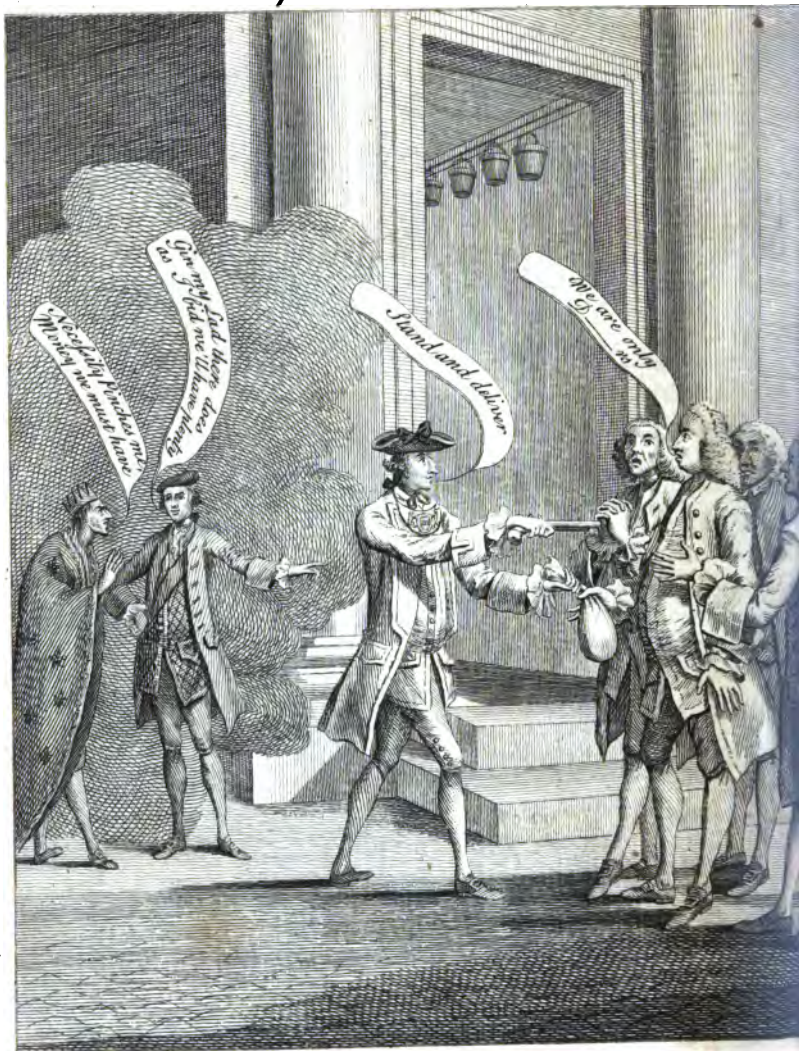
Your sincere friends,

and very humble servants,

BARLOW TRECOTHICK, &c. &c. &c.



Captain Macheath.



The Road has done me Justice, but the
Gaming Table has been my Ruin.
Beggars Opera.

T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER.

For M A R C H, 1768.

N U M B E R X I.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The following short but true state of the late difference between the East-India Company and the m——y, is entirely at your service.

February 20, 1767.

AN act was made last session acknowledging, in the preamble, the right of the East-India Company to declare their own dividends, and allowing them certain liberties in so doing; but at the same time restraining them from making any encrease of dividend beyond ten *per cent.* from the 8th of May 1767, to the then next session of parliament. Now, although no improper nor illegal exercise of the powers acknowledged and permitted to continue with the East-India Company concerning their dividends was allowed to have happened during the recess, yet did administration resolve, in December 1767, or thereabouts, to apply to p—— to continue the above restraining clause two years longer. This resolution, so extraordinary in its nature, and supposed to be so groundless as to any just cause for it, could not fail of alarming the company. They were not conscious that any conduct of theirs had merited or required such a restraint, and they were the more uneasy at this fresh interposition of government relative to their mak-

ing of dividends, as they thought it invasive of the rights granted to them by successive charters; and altogether unnecessary, as the act passed last session respecting the making of dividends, prevented the possibility of any improvident use being made of the power which that act had left in their hands. And a petition against the new restraining bill to this effect was prepared to be presented to the ministry. The chairman and his deputy waited upon the first lord of the T——y and the ch——r of the Ex——r; when one, or both, gave the chairman to understand, and *made him to believe*, that if the proprietors would come to a resolution not to divide more than ten *per cent.* until their simple contract debts were paid, the bill should be laid aside.

Accordingly the proprietors, upon a representation of the affair, came to such resolution. But the m——r, who on this occasion makes use of a subtle and artful distinction between the name or character of a minister and of a member of parliament, and says, that he told the chairman so, not as a minister, but as a member of parliament; did not think proper in the latter capacity, notwithstanding the proprietors had complied with his wishes, to exert himself to get the bill laid aside. On the contrary, it continued to pass, and to receive the support of administration, through the necessary and usual forms in order to its becoming a law. The company, now alarmed to the highest degree, and finding themselves duped by a most manifest violation of what they understood to amount at least to a strong assurance, if not to a solemn promise, prepared the following petition against the bill:

*The humble Petition of the united Company of Merchants of
England trading to the East-Indies,*

Sheweth,

THAT your petitioners humbly apprehend, that the regulations made by parliament are very sufficient to prevent an improvident use being made of the powers vested, by the East-India company's charter, in their general courts of declaring dividends on their capital stock.

That although, upon the general annual account and statement of your petitioners affairs, made up to the 24th of June last, there was a balance carried to the credit of your petitioners of upwards of one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling; and that your petitioners (the dangers of the seas only excepted) may depend on receiving from India, in the course of the ensuing summer, very valuable cargoes of goods and effects; yet your petitioners having, from intimations
received

received from some of their directors, reason to apprehend, that the bill now depending in parliament would be dropt, if they came to a resolution not to divide more than ten *per cent.* till their simple contract debts, bearing interest, were paid, did, at a general court held on the 13th of January instant, come to the following resolution, viz. That no greater dividend than after the rate of ten *per cent.* be made on your petitioners capital stock, until their simple contract debts, carrying interest, shall be discharged.

That the frequent interpositions of parliament in limiting the dividends, which your petitioners in their general courts have a right, by their charter, to resolve upon and declare on their capital stock, will be of very great prejudice and inconvenience to their affairs. And as your petitioners are not conscious that they have given the least cause, by any improper or improvident dividend resolved on by them, or by any other part of their conduct, to induce you to think the bill now depending, for limiting their dividend until the first day of February 1769, necessary to the permanent interest of your petitioners, or to the security of either public or private credit :

Your petitioners most humbly pray, that they may be heard by themselves, or their council, against the said bill ; and that the same may not pass into a law ; and your petitioners shall for ever pray, &c.

Signed by order of the court of directors of East-India House, the said united company,

Jan. 28, 1768.

ROBERT JAMES, Secretary.

The bill, however, passed.

From this sketch of the conduct of the administration in this affair, let us now turn to what were the views of the company in their opposition to the bill. First, they considered it as invasive of the rights granted to them by successive charters ; which has been mentioned. And, secondly, they had an intention of declaring a dividend of twelve and one half *per cent.* To this it has been said, that they were in no condition for so doing ; but a very slight view of the company's affairs will prove the falsity of that assertion, and the reader will find a true state of them in the note. † It is moreover very proper

† A general view of the East-India company's affairs, as they stood in June 1767.

East-India company's debts, as stated by the directors,	£.
16th May 1767	6,004,145
The Company's capital (nominally 3,200,000 <i>l.</i> really 2,800,000 <i>l.</i>)	2,800,000

Total Debts —	£. 8,804,145
S 2	East-

proper to observe that in 1743 the company divided eight per cent. The property of the company since that period having been several times in great and imminent danger, the company having repeatedly run great risks, and having now obtained large

Cr.	
East-India company's credits and effects in England, as stated by the directors, 16th May 1767	£. 4,379,989
Since which time six ships have arrived from India, the cargoes of which, after deducting freight, customs, and all charges, are valued at	378,822
<hr/>	
To which is to be added, quick-stock in India, according to the last advices, viz.	
Fort St. George, 31st December, 1765	1,482,970
Bengal, 24th November 1766, remains, after deducting 581,297 l. for the value of fortifications and buildings, and the cargo of the Cruttenden	957,810
Bombay, 23d November 1766	1,149,930
Bencoolen, 17th April 1766	103,939
China quick-stock, remaining after the cargoes of the fourteen ships of this year are paid for	528,980
Part of the cargoes of ships sent out in 1765	285,233
And the whole cargoes of 1766	490,140
By money imprest to owners of ships 54,000 l. ships and floops built 10,000 l. so estimated last year, and generally the same	64,000
Dead-stock in India, usually estimated in the annual accounts at the price paid for it in 1703	400,000
Warehouses, &c. in England	40,000
	<hr/>
	5,503,002
<hr/>	
But the fortifications in India are estimated to have been worth, in 1750, 371,510 l. and there has since been expended on them 1,058,226 l. besides which there are other buildings estimated at 328,414 l. which sums together make 1,758,150 l. from which deducting the 400,000 l. mentioned in the annual estimate, and 127,663 l. for the costs of the fortifications of fort St. David's, which are destroyed, there remains 1,230,487 l. — suppose these articles to be now estimated at half that sum	615,243
Revenues from lands and customs, the title to which is not disputed, viz.	
On the coast of Coromandel, and on grant from Mahomed Aly Cawn, &c. on a medium of the three last years	261,000
Bengal, under a grant from the Emperor Furuchfier, 1716, about	100,000
	Bombay,

large and valuable acquisitions, is it unjust, is it unreasonable, that they should make an adequate encrease to their dividends? if they are in a condition to give government 400,000*l.* surely the proprietors are entitled to a better dividend, than when they were not able to give government a farthing. But the reader will perhaps ask, how much encrease was it that the company were desirous of making?

To state the answer properly, or rather to make it intelligible to every reader, it is necessary, first, to take notice, that a dividend of one per cent. is 32,000*l.* What the company proposed, was making an addition of four one-half per cent. to the dividend they were able to make in 1743; that is, they thought it reasonable to divide 144,000*l.* more amongst the proprietors, than was done in 1743: but here comes the m—, or some other power, and says, no; you shall not divide 144,000*l.* you shall have but 64,000*l.* that is, you shall not encrease your dividend more than *two* per cent. beyond what it was in 1743.

Bombay, under the same title by which the company holds the settlement itself	£.
Fort Malbro' and St. Helena	74,000
	4,000
Total annual produce	439,000
Estimated at five years purchase	2,195,000
Net produce of nineteen homeward-bound ships expected to arrive before Christmas, viz. eleven from China, four from Bengal, and four from Fort St. George and Bombay, as estimated by the proper officers, after deducting freight, customs, and all charges	1,438,946
	4,249,189
Total of effects	14,511,002
Deduct the debts stated above	8,804,145
Clear surplus	5,706,857

The following are the revenues to which the company's title is disputed, and they are for that reason placed separately.

The revenues in the company's possession, in the Soubahship of Bengal, (exclusive of the 100,000*l.* which the company claim under an older title) clear of all deductions and of military charges, amount to

The five northern circars	£. 1,622,747
	426,000
	£. 2,048,747
	Surely,

Surely, if they are unable to divide 144,000 l. amongst themselves without hurting their creditors, they are in no condition to pay government 400,000 l. "It is in vain to say that this money is not their own; the acquisitions in Bengal are certainly theirs till the right is determined by law, or voted away in parliament."

If one man meets another, and takes from him his purse, it is called a *robbery*, and the thief is deservedly hanged for the offence he has committed against the laws of society. But this conduct most undoubtedly has not the smallest allusion to any such case; nor is there even the shadow of a reason for supposing it to be an attack on public credit. No childish pique, no boyish resentment, influence the head or heart of our minister. All parts of his conduct are the result of the most sage council and sober deliberation. He is constantly assisted and attended, at supper at least, by men, who, like himself, are known to have had the most thorough experience in all the routine of office, and all the arts and mysteries of government: men of good moral character, who have never shewn the least attachment to the fashionable vices of the age; but, on the contrary, a very particular, strong, and uniform abhorrence of that most destructive of all vices, Gaming. With such advice and such assistance, there cannot be a doubt, that he will constantly act with becoming wisdom and temper, and the most scrupulous regard to promise and good faith.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The following Extract of a Letter is too singular and extraordinary not to deserve a place in the Political Register.

I am, Sir, &c.

Extract of a Letter from ——— to ———.

"THE bargain for the loan of this year, being such an
 "one, as to make it necessary, that it should go almost
 "entirely into the hands of the leading merchants in the
 "city of London; it has not been in my power to fulfil my
 "own wishes, or the wishes of many of my particular friends,
 "who had applied for a share in it, and to whom I was desirous of shewing all possible attention and regard."

I shall make but one short remark on this curious extract: it is, that at the very time it was written and sent to the several gentlemen at the St. James's end of the town, the loan was at a premium of four per cent. which I suppose was thought too good a bargain.

I must

I must not omit a curious anecdote of Mr. C—— of the E——, because it shews his great knowledge of finance, and how well qualified he is to discharge the duties of that important office, which he now holds with so much advantage to himself, and justice to the public. At the period he chose for stating the public accounts, he said, that he had taken the prices of stock for three weeks together, and, upon an average for that time, he had rated the value of it; and added, that if the subscribers had a good bargain, he was glad of it. I will not dispute the gladness he so feelingly expressed, for I suppose he had a large share of the subscription *himself*. But I believe it was the first time the —— ever heard, upon such an occasion, of a minister's valuing stock upon an average. Every man knows, who is at all conversant in money affairs, that stock is not valued, bought and sold by the rate of a three-weeks average; but at the exact price it bears at the precise time of the bargain. Such profound ignorance, therefore, was worthy of him only who displayed it; and, thank Heaven, it is confined to the present ad——n. I will just add, that there is no doubt the n——l—— meant what he said respecting the subscribers; for that the bargain might turn out as good as it proves, after one plan had been settled, it was changed to another; which contributed greatly to their advantage. How much the n——l—— himself had, and whether it was in his own name, or in that of another, are equally immaterial; but a certain merchant in the city, who negotiates for foreigners only, had influence enough to secure for himself, his Dutch and French friends, very near a monopoly of this notable loan; the consequence of which was the extraordinary letter above alluded to: while many English persons of consideration, who flattered themselves they had pretensions, if not promises, to certain shares of the subscription, were totally rejected; because, if I am not mis-informed, the above monopolizer was pleased to exclude them under the title of *Whitehall-merchants*.—I hope poor Sir George C—— has reconciled to his friends his humility and acquiescence to this great foreigner, which had given to many of them the greatest and most unaffected concern.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

TH E people of Ireland have at length obtained the object of their sincere and ardent wishes, viz. a bill for limiting the duration of parliaments in that kingdom. But the history of this

this transaction is not a little curious, and therefore deserves to be recorded with the other extraordinary politicks of the times. Last year, the electors of Ireland instructed their representatives on the subject of bringing in and passing a bill to limit the duration of their parliament to seven years, in like manner as the parliament of Great-Britain; and so eager and so unanimous were the electors in their desires of obtaining this law, that there was scarce a town or county throughout the kingdom, which did not insist upon their representatives voting for, and supporting such a bill; and some of them went so far as to oblige their members to make oath they would vote for it. Accordingly, when the parliament met in November 1767, the heads of a bill for limiting the duration of parliaments to seven years was brought into the House of Commons, and passed; and, agreeable to the constitution of that kingdom, the bill was, as the next step towards its passing into a law, transmitted to England. Here it is to be observed, that the true reason of the Commons passing the bill, was not so much the strong and positive commands of their constituents, as the hopes which even the Irish *Patriots* themselves entertained, who had with so much alacrity and spirit propagated the idea of a septennial bill through the kingdom; that it would be rejected in England. And in order to go as far as possible towards making this hoped-for rejection certain, they drew up the preamble in the strain of, *Whereas it is the undoubted RIGHT of the people of Ireland to a more frequent choice of their representatives, &c.* No man in his senses could surely think that the way to accomplish a resignation of so much power by the crown, was by *demand*, or by an assertion that such power was unconstitutionally withheld from the subject. That is impossible. This curious preamble, therefore, undoubtedly arose out of the motive abovementioned.

In this state, and with these hopes, the bill was sent to England about the latter end of November 1767. It lay under consideration till the end of January 1768, or thereabouts. The poor people, and the poor representatives, were all this time under the most dreadful apprehensions: one ardently and incessantly offering up their prayers to Heaven for its return; the other wishing, but not daring to avow their wish, that it might continue for ever under consideration. The members, fearing the odium they would incur by rejecting the bill, and some body charitably informing them of the trap that was laid for them, determined at length to return it, though they were as little inclined to this step, as the Commons were to the passing of it; and the difficulty, or rather the jockeyship between them, was only which should have the odium of its

its failing; each being desirous of throwing it upon the other. Such alterations were therefore made in it, as implied on the part of the Ad——n, the most direct opposition to the bill, and which, it was thought and expected, would cause the high spirited patriots to throw it out with indignation. The preamble was struck out; the word *seven* years was changed to *eight* years? and instead of suffering the present parliament to continue seven years longer, as was proposed by the bill, it was to be dissolved at the end of the present session. With these alterations the bill was returned. Upon its arrival in Ireland, the people hearing that some alterations were made, but that they were to have a frequent choice of representatives and a new election immediately; and fearing that their members would find some pretence for not passing it, they instantly began to assume their original rights, their notions of which they carried to a greater extent than can be justified: for they assembled in great numbers upon College-green, and other places in Dublin, uttering the most horrid imprecations of vengeance, if their representatives refused to pass the bill. Twenty thousand men at one time surrounded, and secured all the avenues leading to the parliament-house, threatening both to murder the members, and to pull down the house, if the bill was not passed. The patriots now finding themselves caught in their own snare, and seeing and fearing the spirit of the people, suddenly changed about; they affected to disregard the affronts given them by the alterations; they pretended to pass the bill very eagerly and cheerfully, and concluded this farce of sincerity, with an address of thanks for being to be dissolved at the end of the present session.

Feb. 20, 1768.

TO the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

MANY and various have been the schemes proposed for easing the people of that intolerable load of public debt, under which they now labour; and which, according to the opinion of the best politicians, the nation must either by some means destroy, or it will in a little time destroy the nation.

Some have recommended the raising the supplies within the year, and allowing the whole produce of the sinking fund to go towards the discharge of the national debt, which, of consequence, must, by that method, be gradually diminished. But however feasible this scheme may be in time of peace, it is, I am afraid, altogether impracticable in time of war, especially if, in the course of any future war, we should ever expend annually as much as we did in the years 1759 and 1760.

Others have suggested, as an equally effectual means, the dissolution of the charter of the East-India company, and the

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laying open that trade to the whole nation ; which, besides the large sums that will be readily paid for such an indulgence by the merchants of London and the other trading cities, will so greatly augment the produce of the customs, as will at once contribute to the discharge of our debts, and enable us, in the mean time, to lessen our other taxes.

But nothing, in my opinion, can ever sufficiently answer this salutary end, but diminishing, in every respect, the expences of government. This is the grand source of all our political evils ; to which we owe the increase of our national debt : to this we owe the seeming impossibility of ever being able to reduce it : to this we owe the luxury, prodigality and profusion which prevail among the great ; and the murmurs, jealousies, and discontents which reign among the people : to this, in a word, we owe that spirit of venality, bribery, and corruption which now deluges the land, and which must throw the kingdom, for some months to come, into a state of intoxication. Nor let any one imagine that I exasperate the evil, or paint it in stronger colours than it justly deserves to wear. *The corruption of the best things ever produces the worst ; and a free government, when corrupted, is always the most intolerable :* and that our own is corrupted in a very high degree, he must be incurably blind that does not clearly discern. But how, it may be said, are the expences of government to be reduced ? Not, I acknowledge, by those who profit by these expences, I mean our ministers, placemen, and pensioners : I too well know the spirit of *those cormorants* ever to expect from them such an act of self-denial. I expect not that the wolf should make a law against invading sheep-folds, or the fox against attacking hen-roosts. Simple as I may be, I am not yet quite so credulous.

But if not by our ministers, placemen, and pensioners ; by whom, then, are the expences of government to be reduced ? I answer, by the people. But how by the people ? Shall they rise in arms, and compel the ministers, by mere force, to agree to such a measure ? No, Sir : God forbid that I should ever recommend such a desperate expedient ; tho' I will venture to prophesy, that if matters are not reformed by more gentle means, some such expedient will be employed, tho' not, I hope, in our time, at least in that of our posterity. All governments, when once they have become intolerably burthensome, have been destroyed by the very persons, who would otherwise have supported them. What was it that overturned the Roman government ? It was not solely, I will take upon me to say, the crowds of barbarians that poured in upon it from the north ; it was the subjects themselves of that very government, who harassed and oppressed by the unsupportable

unsupportable taxes imposed upon them by their lordly masters, chose rather to submit to mild dominion of the Goths and Vandals, than endure any longer the refined tyranny of the Roman emperors.

But if not by force, by what method then are the people to reduce the expences of government? My scheme is this: as we are now upon the eve of a new parliament, let it be an express condition in the election of every member, that he will propose and support, with all his interest, a law calculated for this purpose; I mean a law for reducing the salaries of all places under the government to one fourth, one fifth, one sixth, one seventh, and even some of them to one tenth of what they are at present. We shall then hear no more (I will venture to promise) of murmurs, jealousies and discontents among the people, who, being thus satisfied that they pay no more than what is absolutely necessary for the support of government, will pay it with cheerfulness; and as little shall we hear of factions, cabals, and intrigues among the great, who, being thus stript of the power of plundering this country, will peaceably leave its affairs to be conducted by those who are best qualified for such an undertaking. O! but it is not a desire of plundering their country, but a laudable ambition of promoting its interest, that actuates the great: *their dear, their beloved country*, they would not plunder for the world; nor is it any thing that makes them so eager to get into power, but a patriotic zeal to consult its welfare. Ha! ha! ha! why, good faith, Sir! the very populace laugh at the pretext!

I know, it will be said, that the people have no right to impose such a condition, as the one abovementioned, upon their representatives: that they have, it is true, the power of electing, or not electing, any one that may offer himself a candidate, but that the moment he is elected, he is no longer dependant upon his constituents, but may act entirely according to his own discretion; for that the duty which he owes his constituents, is swallowed up in the superior duty which he owes to his country. This, I acknowledge, is a doctrine which is very generally received; but I must confess, that, for my own part, I have some considerable scruples about it. I should be glad to know if there be any law, depriving the people of the power of electing their representatives *under certain conditions*. But if there be such a law, and the people of necessity must chuse their representatives *absolutely and unconditionally*; then I would advise them, upon the meeting of the new parliament, to unite as one man, and to send up instructions to their representatives, insisting peremptorily upon the making of a law for reducing the expences. But here,

again, I shall be told, that the representatives are not obliged to follow the instructions of their constituents. No! shall not an ambassador follow the instructions of his sovereign? a substitute of his principal? a servant of his master? O! but, says the advocates for the opposite opinion, the representatives are neither ambassadors, substitutes, nor servants. They are, it is true, before their election, nothing more than mere men; nay, it may frequently happen, that they are even something less: but after their election, they are ——— indeed, what are they not? they are, in their legislative capacity, uncontrolled and uncontrollable; accountable to none for their parliamentary conduct but to the parliament itself; and totally independant on those very persons from whom they received all their power and authority.

This, however, is a point, about which I am still more unsatisfied than I am about the former. The case, I imagine, was very different at the first institution of parliaments. Representatives then, I am inclined to think, were no more than so many commissioners or delegates sent up to parliament by the different counties, cities, and boroughs, with instructions in their pockets, which they were under an absolute necessity of obeying. They could not, it is true, prevent the enacting of any law, if the majority of the house were bent on such a measure; but they were not at liberty to give their assent to any bill, to which their constituents had forbid them to agree. And if such was the custom at the first institution of parliaments, I do not well see why it should not sometimes be the custom at present. All governments, according to Machiavel, and indeed according to common sense, must be occasionally brought back to their original principles; otherwise they will very soon degenerate.

I know it is the opinion of the generality of politicians, that representatives are not obliged to follow the instructions of their constituents; for that such a practice would be frequently productive of the greatest inconveniences, by tying up the hands of the legislature, and retarding the course of public business, which cannot often wait the slow resolution of distant counties and boroughs; and that, in effect, it would convert our mixed government into a pure republic. To the sentiments of these writers I so far accede, that I would not have this privilege of the people (if, in fact, they have such a privilege) wantonly and unnecessarily exercised; because all power, when abused, becomes dangerous and unpopular: but I affirm, at the same time, that if they have such a privilege, (and if they have it not, they ought certainly to have it) it can never be more properly and usefully exerted than upon the

the present occasion, when the preservation of the state from impending ruin is the object they have in view.

But if the people cannot compel their representatives to lessen the expences of government, either *by choosing them conditionally, or by obliging them to follow instructions*, they ought then to insist, as the last resort, upon a law being made for reducing the term of parliaments not to three years, but to one. And this, indeed, I have some reason to think would be the best method of the three, as, besides gaining the point more immediately aimed at, it would be an effectual remedy for moving other evils. They would then have an opportunity in the course of every twelvemonth to express their sentiments of the conduct of their representatives, to re-elect such as had faithfully discharged their trust, and to dismiss from their service such as had acted otherwise. And as we are now (as I hinted above) upon the eve of a general election, we ought not, if we are wise, to neglect the approaching opportunity; for if we do, we shall, I'm afraid, but too much confirm the observation of an ingenious writer, who says, *the English think they are free, but they are mistaken: they are free only once in seven years; and that but for a few months at a time: and then they make so bad an use of their liberty, that they richly deserve to lose it.*

If, after all I have urged, it should still be out of the power of the people to compel their representatives to lessen the expences of government, I would then beg leave to address myself those very representatives, and endeavour to work upon their humanity, their generosity, and public spirit, did I not know, that, by such an attempt, I should only excite their laughter and ridicule; and were I not convinced, that their principles and practice are but too agreeable to the old adage, which says, *every man, for himself, and God for us all*: but I will take the liberty of telling them that, *if every man be for himself* in the manner we have been for some time, *the devil will soon be for us all*: In other words, if a narrow, selfish, and interested spirit prevail, to the exclusion of all patriotism and regard for the public, the nation, were it even like that of the Jews, as a certain prelate says, under a theocracy, must inevitably be ruined.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

A Glossary to explain the Minutes of L— Vulture and his Party.

<i>Select committee,</i>	{	A Court of inquisition, formed on the plan of the inner star-chamber.
<i>Method and accuracy,</i>		An abolition of all the common forms of office, a perfect chaos of pedantical and unnatural jargon.

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<i>Oeconomy,</i>	{ Making use of other people's money to save their own.
<i>Resolution and perseverance,</i>	{ An obstinate pursuit of villainous and oppressive measures.
<i>Faction,</i>	{ An unanimous sense of the most cruel injuries.
<i>Disinterestedness,</i>	{ Receiving presents as privately as possible, and borrowing money at a moderate interest to lend it at 30 or 40 per cent.
<i>Order and subordination,</i>	{ A servile obedience to usurped power, without daring to vindicate one's character when attacked.
<i>Justice,</i>	{ Imprisonment, threats, military guards, and extorted evidence.
<i>Penetration,</i>	{ Discovering enormous legacies in a country where none were ever left.
<i>Extraordinary powers,</i>	{ A power to exert uncontrollable tyranny.
<i>Insolence and factious associations,</i>	{ A thorough contempt for men void of honour and honesty, and a general resolution to avoid those who wound their character and injure their fortune.
<i>Merit and fortitude,</i>	{ Betraying trust, sacrificing your companions, and bartering honour and principle for a recommendatory paragraph.
<i>Rapacity,</i>	{ The acquisition of any fortune less than 500,000 <i>l.</i> and a jaghire of 30,000 <i>l.</i> more for twenty years.
<i>Licentiousness,</i>	{ Hinting a few modest doubts with regard to a pretended legacy.
<i>Saving the company's inestimable possessions from destruction,</i>	{ Calling four dead votes from ———.
<i>Luxury,</i>	{ Being carried in a palanquin, when a man would get a fever by walking on foot.
<i>Reformation,</i>	{ In writing; slanderous complaints against the want of principle and morals. In conversation; talking blasphemy and bawdy, without regard to age, sex, or character.
<i>Lenity,</i>	{ Ruining, by unexampled oppression, every man who differs in opinion.
<i>Honesty, integrity, and abilities,</i>	{ Implicit obedience to the commands of an insolent superior, without presuming to have any opinion of one's own.

Cant.

<p><i>Corruption and general depravity,</i></p> <p><i>Providing for the _____'s interest,</i></p> <p><i>Strict honour, exemplary disregard to self-interest and a scrupulous observance of the _____'s orders,</i></p>	<p>{ Cant-phrases, implying the purity and virtue of I— Vulture's own heart, as opposed to all who disdain to become his minions and flatterers.</p> <p>{ Preferring specious appearances and present eclat to real and lasting advantages.</p> <p>{ Obliging every inferior to refuse taking presents, and extorting them by every means of violence and rapine himself.</p>
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To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The following lines were lately received under a blank cover by the general post, addressed to a friend of the Chevalier D'Eon; from the post mark, and other signs, they are supposed to be written by an eminent doctor in divinity, of the university of Oxford. As they are much admired for their elegance and merit, they are thought deserving a place in your Register. Your friend, and humble servant,

Verses on the Chevalier D'Eon de Beaumont.

EXUL ades, minium felix! tu vitima veri.
 Causa boni, Patriæ facta, D'Eone, tua est,
 Curia quondam habuit magnum Romana Catonem:
 Majorem sed habet jam Gallicana suum.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

AS you have inserted the several extraordinary letters in the late Boston-gazettes, I have now sent you the conclusions and inferences I have drawn from those curious papers. And first, I must observe, that I intend not here to enter into the dispute, which has been so much agitated, whether we have a right to impose taxes upon the Americans? because that is a clear case: the legislature having resolved that we have, though I cannot help remarking, by the way, that some late arguments against it, drawn from the case of Ireland, are little to the purpose, as Ireland can never be considered as an English colony: Ireland is a conquered kingdom, or a kingdom, which, though formerly independent, was obliged to submit to the English government: but it submitted upon this express condition, that it should still retain its parliament, and, among other privileges, the power of taxing itself,

But

But can the same be said of our American colonies? Did they ever enjoy a state of independance? Had they ever, have they even yet, a parliament? for I cannot help smiling when I hear their petty assemblies dignified with that high-sounding title. Did they retain, at the time of leaving their native country, or did they assert at any time since, till within these few years, their privilege of taxing themselves, or rather their privilege of not being taxed by us? When all these, and many other questions of equal importance, are answered by the Americans, they may then endeavour, with some show of reason, to institute a comparison between their own case and that of Ireland.

Waving, however, the discussion of this point, which, as I said above, I mean not to handle, I shall just take the liberty of asking any impartial person, what must be the consequence of that turbulent and malicious spirit which now prevails in America? What must it end in (if not timely checked) but open revolt and rebellion? But why, said I, end in? Has it not proceeded to that pitch already? Have not they opposed the king's officers with an armed force? And, for my own part, I can form no other notion of most barefaced rebellion. Have not they likewise declared war against our trade and manufactures, by unanimously resolving not to import, if they can possibly help it, a single article from Great-Britain? I pity, I must own, the situation of the king's officers in that part of the world, who are obliged to behold such intolerable insults offered to their master's authority, without daring, I don't say to punish, but not even to condemn them.

But to whom, Sir, are all these mischiefs, and the still greater with which we are threatened alternately, to be ascribed? Not to the Americans; for they had some causes of complaint, and these not being removed in time, they proceeded insensibly from lesser outrages to greater: not to the king's officers; for they had never sufficient power, and sometimes indeed not sufficient authority, to suppress these or any other outrages. To whom, then, ought they to be attributed? I answer, to our weak, dastardly, and pusillanimous ministers, who, while they have dancing in and out, backwards and forwards, to the right and to the left, have neither had time, inclination, nor ability, to attend to this or any other affair of a public nature; and who, conscious of the slippery footing upon themselves, were afraid of exerting the least degree of that little strength they were possessed of, lest the effort should make them and their undertakings tumble headlong to the ground.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

THE affair of the Manila ransom, one of the greatest and most important that happened in the course of the late war, has, for several years, slept, and still continues to sleep: and notwithstanding the variety of ministers we have had for some time past, yet not one of them has taken it up with proper spirit and resolution; a circumstance the more surprizing, as in every thing else they have acted in direct contradiction to each other. Whatever has been done, one year, by one minister, has been as constantly undone, the next year, by another minister. Thus we have gone on for almost these six years past; while the national honour is insulted abroad, the public interest neglected at home; our enemies laugh at the folly and timidity, and our own people exclaim against the pusillanimity of our *nominal* ministers. The truth of this assertion is fatally confirmed by the conduct, as rather misconduct, of all our late ministers, on the subject of the Manila ransom. On this one point only, and no other of the public business, have they been unanimous and consistent. In plain terms, they found it likely to be attended with some trouble, and they all hate trouble. They are justly afraid of plunging into difficulties, out of which they know they have not capacity to extricate themselves; and this, indeed, is the only act of prudence of which they have been guilty. They dare not hazard a spirited memorial, lest it should precipitate them into measures, for the management of which they are utterly unqualified. Thus the honour of the nation abroad is permitted to be wounded in the most sensible manner, that ignorance and timidity may have leisure to riot in luxury and corruption. That this is no exaggerated picture, is evident beyond the possibility of a doubt; and that the affair of the Manila ransom is one great proof of the insufficiency of our ministers, is no less manifest; for nothing has been done in this matter for these four years past, but hearing Spanish chicanery giving serious answers to the most palpable falsities, which deserved, indeed, to be treated with contempt. Where is now *the old English spirit*, which would have roused, like a lion, on such an occasion, and demanded categorically of the proud Spaniard whether he would or would not, pay the stipulated sums? In order, however, to convince your readers, and the public in general, that I am not asserting our claim to a right, to which we have not a good

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and

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and undoubted title, I must beg you would print in your Political Register the annexed paper, which was drawn up by the brave and worthy admiral who commanded the fleet in that expedition. It sets the captor's claim in so true and striking a light, that it ought, I think, to be laid before the public, in order that every one may be sufficiently convinced of the goodness of our cause, and the justice of our demand.

A plain Narrative of the reduction of Manila and the Philippine Islands.

THE conquest of Manila, Cavita, and the whole Philippine Islands, having been of late the topic of conversation, from the crown of Spain's refusal to pay the bills drawn by its archbishop and captain-general, in consequence of the capitulation; and having reason to apprehend, that the public are as ignorant of the nature and importance of that acquisition, as they seem to be unacquainted with the particulars relative to the capitulation, and its consequences; I think it a duty incumbent on me to set the material transactions of that expedition in a proper point of view, as well in justice to my own conduct and character, as to the officers and men serving under me; and for the particular information of the representatives of the nation, who have condescended to think our services deserving their public approbation of our conduct, in the particular honour of their thanks conveyed to us by their speaker.

Manila is the metropolis of the Philippine Islands, situated in a large bay on the island of Luconia, in the latitude 14. 40. north, longitude 118 east, from London, in possession of the Spaniards, and maintained by the crown of Spain, at the request of the church for propagating the christian faith among the Indians, for which they have a large annual allowance from Mexico, for the maintenance of their public officers and clergy, and for the support of their convents. They are also indulged with ships, built and navigated at the king's expence, to bring the said allowance in money: these ships go laden with merchandize belonging to the inhabitants (a still further indulgence allowed them) from Manila to Acapulco, and return with money: the king's is registered; and the remainder (about as much more) a smuggling trade, and connived at.

This trade is so very prejudicial to Old Spain, the cargoes they send being China silks, India cottons, spices, &c. for the use of the people in America, that the Cadiz and Bayonne companies

companies have frequently presented the strongest memorial^s and remonstrances to the king, setting forth the damage sustained by it, but without any success, the church always getting the better of them.

In consequence of orders from Europe to attack Manila in the war with Spain, the squadron and troops sailed from Madras the first of August, 1762, and arrived in the bay of Manila the 24th of September following; and after summoning the town to surrender, and receiving for answer their resolution to defend it, the troops were immediately landed, and began the siege. A breach being made the 6th of October, we stormed and took the city, on which the principal inhabitants retired into the citadel; but sensible they could not hold it long, sent out a flag of truce, desiring to capitulate. The terms offered were, on paying "four millions of dollars, they were to have their churches, convents, palaces, and other public buildings, with the town preserved, and the plundering stopped, with the free exercise of their religion, and other liberties; otherwise to be prisoners of war, and put on board the squadron, and sent to the coast of India as such."

These terms they accepted; and, whilst the articles were settling, they pleaded their inability to raise immediately the sum demanded, unless we would admit the Philippina (which was arrived in the port of Pallapa, on the island of Samar, from Acapulco) into the capitulation, and the viceroy to send letters to the general that commanded her, to deliver her up to our ships, which had been sent after her; to which we assented, on condition that the said Philippina was actually in the port of Pallapa, and delivered up to our ships in consequence of the said letter. *This is the only ship ever admitted into the capitulation, (and that conditionally) and which, instead of being delivered up, or ordered to proceed to Manila, agreeable to the promised letter of the viceroy, was, by other letters, privately sent unknown to us, directed not to comply with the viceroy's letter, but to land the money on the island where they were, and secure it in the best manner they could, until they should receive further directions from Manila.**

* If this ship was not admitted in the capitulation by any accident of non-compliance with the terms of the viceroy's letter, in that case we agreed to take his bills on the king of Spain, he assuring us they would be duly paid.

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All things being thus agreed on, the plundering the town was immediately stopped † and the city restored to order; an account taken of the ordnance and military stores, and the garrison established, which took up the whole of the troops of the expedition; and the place (in obedience to his Majesty's instructions) delivered up to the East-India company's agent for their use and benefit, until his further pleasure should be known.‡ During these transactions, the treasure remaining in the town (a great deal being conveyed out during the siege) was collected together, and the principal inhabitants voluntarily taxed themselves to pay the remainder as far as two millions; and if the Philippina was not to be got at, we were to take bills on the king of Spain for the other two millions, which the captain-general, or viceroy (who was also archbishop) declared he had authority to draw, and would be duly honoured.

So soon as the place was in possession of the East-India company, the Spaniards perceived the king's officers had no further power over them, and therefore stopped any further collections towards the payment; and, from the excess of lenity hitherto shewn them, soon grew insolent, broke every part of the capitulation by retiring into the country and joining Anda, one of the royal audience, who had taken up arms, and proclaimed himself captain-general, while their priests and friars publicly exhorted them to rebellion, and preached it meritorious to take up arms and destroy us.

As several of the principal men of the place were likewise concerned with him, the captors were justly apprehensive that little or nothing more was to be got by fair means, and were willing to secure what was still in their power; and therefore ordered their agents to bring into the city what merchandize was belonging to the above men in the suburbs, as a security till they made good their ransom; but were greatly surprised to find the East-India company's governor had placed guards, and would not suffer the agents to remove any one thing, by which the captors lost upwards of 200,000 dollars. The captors, therefore, to secure what little yet remained in their power, gave directions to seize, and dispose of a ship, named the Santa Nino, that lay in the port of Cavita at the

† The damage sustained by the inhabitants before the plundering could be stopped, was estimated and deducted from the ransom.

‡ Vide article at 15 xxx.

time of the town being taken, and placed her produce to the account of the four million (although she was not mentioned or included in the capitulation.) *This was the only ship taken in the port, and sold for only 16,000 dollars, and which the Spaniards have since artfully and jesuitically endeavoured to propagate to be the Santissima Trinidad; 'tis therefore in this place necessary to make known, that the Santissima Trinidad sailed from Manila on the 1st of August, which was upwards of seven weeks before the squadron arrived there, and had proceeded several hundred leagues on her voyage to Acapulco; when, meeting with a storm, she was dismasted, and endeavouring to put back to refit, was met with off the island of Capul by two of our ships, the Panther and Argo (the two ships that were detached after the Philippina) and after an engagement taken by them, above two hundred miles from the port of Manila, and which ships knew nothing at that time of the surrender or capitulation of Manila.** These two ships that were sent after the Philippina (in consequence of intelligence obtained by a galley we took in the bay soon after our arrival) had got as far as the island of Capul, in their way to Pallapa, when they met with the Trinidad; and she being much disabled, and having a great number of men on board, they were obliged to return to the bay of Manila with her: on which, as soon as possible, two frigates were dispatched again after the Philippina, but before they could reach the streights of St. Bernardino, the north-east monsoon was set in, and the weather too stormy to pass the streights, and after ten weeks fruitlessly attempting it, were obliged to return.

The squadron being obliged (by instructions on that head) to return to the coast of India for the protection of the East-India company's settlements, before the north-east monsoon was expired, sailed from the bay of Manila the beginning of March, leaving orders with the commanding officer of the ships left for the protection of the place, so soon as the south-west monsoon prevailed, to proceed to Pallapa, in order to take possession of the Philippina, who, on his arrival, found only the ship, the treasure having been carried in small vessels to the island of Luconia by orders from the

* A Spanish galleon sailing from the Havannah a month before the arrival of Sir George Pocock and Lord Albemarle to attack that place, and taken in her passage to Cadiz by two English cruizers off the Canary or Western Islands, might, with the same degree of equity, be claimed by the Spaniards under their capitulation for the Havannah.

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inhabitants of Manila, who had all this time amused us with the promise of the money of this ship for payment, and even sent men as hostages in our ships to get it, notwithstanding they themselves well knew it was removed from that place. Through the whole of the above transactions, the Spaniards, by evasions, avoided complying with the capitulation in every one respect, except in the bringing in the money from the Misericordia and Ordentercara, which was out of their power to secrete. They basely and ungratefully took up arms against us, after having their lives given them. They preached publicly in their churches rebellion, and proclaimed it meritorious to destroy us.

And these people have still furthermore the impudence to charge us with an infringement of the capitulation, and the effrontery to claim the Santissima Trinidad, which was taken above 200 miles from Manila by two of his Majesty's ships, who knew nothing of the surrender of the place, nor was in any shape mentioned or included in the capitulation, having sailed on her voyage seven weeks previous to our arrival, as may be seen by the capitulation annexed hereto.

It is true they have given bills on the king their master for part of the ransom, which he does not acknowledge they had a right to draw, and therefore refuses payment of. But surely I may with equity be permitted to add, that as he allows them a very large sum annually for their support, and has again put the place into their possession, is he not bound in honour and strict justice to oblige his subjects to make good their solemn covenant and capitulation, having the means so fully in his power?

The account of the ransom stands correctly thus:

	dollars	r.	d.	dollars	r.	d.
Ransom agreeable to capitulation				4,000,000	0	0
Received from the public funds and collections	15,802	3	10			
Plunder taken from the seamen and soldiers	26,623	0	0	542,425	3	10
Remains due to the captors				3,457,574	4	2
One third of which is the proportion belonging to the East-India company.						

The king's instructions were, if we succeeded in the conquest of Manila, to deliver up the fortifications, with the cannon, stores and ammunition, to the East-India company, until

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until his Majesty's pleasure should be signified with regard to the future disposition of the said conquests, &c.

Upon the peace, when the place was delivered up to the Spaniards, the East-India company applied to the secretary of state for leave to carry the artillery and stores to Madras, but received for answer, that they must remain for the defence of the place; but were afterwards told, that if the Spaniards would give security for the payment of the value of them, they were to be left; if they would not, the East-India company might remove them to Madras. This last answer did not arrive in India till after orders had been sent to deliver it up, and the season too late to send that year.

CONDITIONS on which the city of Manila shall be preserved from plunder, and the inhabitants preserved in their religion, goods, liberties and properties, under the government and protection of his Britannic Majesty.

Art. I. **T**HE Spanish officers of every rank shall be esteemed as prisoners of war, upon their parole of honour, but shall have the liberty of wearing their swords; the rest of their troops, of every degree and quality, must be disarmed, and disposed of as we shall think proper. They shall be treated with humanity.

II. All the military stores, and magazines of every kind, must be surrendered faithfully to our commissary, and nothing secreted or damaged.

III. His excellency the governor must send immediate orders to the fort of Cavita, and the other forts under his command, and dependant on Manila, to surrender to his Britannic Majesty.

IV. The propositions contained in the paper delivered on the part of his excellency the governor, and his council, will be listened to, and confirmed to them, upon their payment of four million of dollars, the half to be paid immediately, the other half to be paid in a time to be agreed upon, and hostages and security given for that purpose.

Done in the city of Manila, the 6th of October, 1762.

S. CORNISH,
WILLIAM DRAPER.

PROPOSALS

PROPOSALS made to their excellencies his Britannic Majesty's commanders in chief by sea and land, by his excellency the archbishop, captain-general of the Philippine Islands, the royal audience, the city, and commerce of Manila.

Art. I. **T**HAT their effects and possessions shall be secured to them, under the protection of his Britannic Majesty, with the same liberty they have heretofore enjoyed.

Granted.

II. That the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, be preserved and maintained, in its free exercise and functions, by its pastors and faithful ministers.

Granted.

III. That the families which are retired into the country may have free liberty to return unmolested.

Granted.

IV. That the same indemnification and liberty may extend to all persons of both sexes, inhabitants of this city, without any prejudice or molestation to their interior commerce.

Ans. They may carry on all sorts of commerce as British subjects.

V. Having great confidence in the manners and politeness of their excellencies the Britannic generals, hope they will use their best endeavours in preserving peace and quietness in the city and suburbs, chastising all people who shall dare to oppose their superior orders.

Granted.

VI. That the inhabitants of this city may enjoy the same liberty of commerce as they have had heretofore, and that they may have proper passports granted them for that end.

Answered by the 4th.

VII. That the same liberty may be granted to the natives of the country for bringing in all manner of provisions, &c. according to their usual method, without the least opposition or extortion, paying for them in the same manner as hath been heretofore practised.

Granted. Any one coming in with arms will be put to death.

VIII. The ecclesiastical government may be tolerated, and have free liberty to instruct the faithful, especially the native inhabitants.

Ans. They must not attempt to convert any of our Protestant subjects to the Popish faith.

IX. That

IX. That the use and exercise of the oeconomical government of the city may remain in the same freedom and liberty.

Granted.

X. That the authority, as well political as civil, may still remain in the hands of the royal audience, to the end, that by their means a stop may be put to all disorders, and the insolent and guilty be chastised.

Ans. Subject to the superior controul of our government.

XI. That the said ministers and royal officers, their persons and goods, may in full security be maintained in their houses, with a stipend sufficient for their support, his Catholic Majesty being answerable for the same; upon those conditions the abovementioned ministers will be under the protection of his Britannic Majesty, in the same manner as the rest of the inhabitants.

Ans. His Catholic Majesty must pay for their support.

XII. That the inhabitants may have free liberty to reside within, or out of the city, as shall be most convenient for them.

Ans. Still subject to the revocation of our government, if they find it necessary.

Done at the head-quarters in the city of Manila, the 7th day of October, 1762.

S. CORNISH.
WILLIAM DRAPER.

Man. Ant. Arch. de Manile, Gov. y
Cap. Gen. de las Philipps.
Francisco Henriquez de Villacourte.
Manuel Galban y Ventura.
Francisco Leandro de Viana.

PROPOSALS of their excellencies his Britannic Majesty's commanders in chief, which are agreed to by the most illustrious governor of these islands, as likewise the royal audience, the city and commerce, with the clergy, both secular and regular.

Art. I. THAT the governor would give immediate orders for delivering up the port of Cavita, with its fortifications, which has been executed by an order to the Castellana of the said port, which was shewn to their excellencies, and sent to the serjeant-major of the said port.

II. To satisfy the four millions of dollars, which are immediately demanded by the aforementioned commanders in chief, all the capitals of the public funds, such as the Mi-

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fericordia, the Ordentercarra, and the religious communities, as also what belongs to the archbishop, which shall be found in being; and what shall be wanting of the compliment of the said four millions, shall be made up by the capitals which the said ship Philippina shall bring in; with condition, that if the said ship should be taken by his Britannic Majesty's ships before the time that the advice dispatched by his excellency the governor shall arrive to her, ordering her to come into this bay; or if the capital therein should not be sufficient to compleat the said four millions, they will give a bill on his Catholic Majesty; and if the said ship should not be taken with the capital therein contained at the time that the commander of the ship Philippina may receive orders to conduct her here, the whole shall be given up to make up the sum of four millions. But in case there should not be sufficient to make up the whole sum, they will give bills on the treasury of his most Catholic Majesty.

In this manner the said proposals are agreed to on the part of his excellency the governor and his council, and confirmed by their excellencies the Britannic commanders in chief, according to the fourth proposition of their excellencies, bearing date the 6th day of October, 1762.

Signed by the archbishop and the ovidores of the city of Manila,

Counterpart signed by

Rear-Admiral CORNISH, and
Brigadier-General DRAPER.

Spanish Arguments for refusing Payment.

THE English generals who made themselves masters of Manila proposed, on the * fifth of October, 1762, a capitulation to the archbishop, who acted as governor; by which they promised to preserve the city from pillage, if the governor and principal magistrates would consent to, and sign the articles of, the said capitulation; which they were forced to do, being threatened to be put to the sword in case of refusal.

Notwithstanding this shameful capitulation, extorted and signed by the means of violence and rigour, general Draper ordered or suffered the city to be sacked and pillaged, for forty hours, by four thousand English, who plundered it of more than a million of dollars.

* The Spaniards, by sailing to Manila by the west, are a day later in their computation of time in that country.

Therefore:

Therefore the said capitulation ought to be void, because it was signed by force; and because general Draper first violated and broke the capitulation, by permitting the city to be pillaged. Consequently, that capitulation only, which was proposed by the governor, accepted of, and signed by admiral Cornish and general Draper, upon the seventh of October, ought to be considered and respected in this affair.

The first article of which grants to the inhabitants of Manila, the peaceable and quiet possession of all their effects; the fourth and sixth grant them the liberty of commerce, under the protection of his Britannic Majesty.

Refutation by Colonel Draper.

IT is a known and universal rule of war amongst the most civilized nations, that places taken by storm, without any capitulation, are subject to all the miseries that the conquerors may chuse to inflict.

Manila was in this horrid situation; of consequence the lives of the inhabitants, with all belonging to them, were entirely at our mercy. But christianity, humanity, the dignity of our nation, and our own feelings as men, induced us not to exert the utmost rigours of the profession against those wretched suppliants; although my own secretary, lieutenant Fryar, had been murdered, as he was carrying a flag of truce to the town. The admiral and I told the archbishop and principal magistrates, that we were desirous to save so fine a city from destruction; and ordered them to withdraw, consult, and propose such terms of compensation as might satisfy the fleet and army, and exempt them from pillage, and its fatal consequences.

The proposals they gave in, were the very same, which the Spaniards most artfully call a second capitulation; and were afterwards agreed to, and confirmed by us; (with a few restrictions) but at that time were so unsuitable to their desperate situation, that we rejected them as unsatisfactory and inadmissible. As conquerors, we took the pen, and dictated those terms of the ransom which the Spaniards thought proper to submit to; for they had the alternative, either to be passive under the horrors of a pillage, or compound for their preservation; they accepted the latter.

The objection and pretence of force and violence may be made use of to evade any military agreements whatsoever, where the two parties do not treat upon an equality; for who, in war, will submit to an inconvenient and prejudicial com-

past, unless from force? But have the Spaniards forgot their own histories? or will they not remember the just indignation expressed against Francis the First, who pleaded the like subterfuge of force and violence, to evade the treaty made after the battle of Pavia, and his captivity?

Should such elusive doctrines prevail, it will be impossible, hereafter, for the vanquished to obtain any quarter or terms whatsoever: the war will be carried on *usque ad internecionem*, and if a sovereign shall refuse to confirm the conditions stipulated by his subjects, who are in such critical situations, the consequences are too horrid to mention.

By the same fallacious sophistry, a state may object to the payment of the ransoms of ships taken at sea, and to contributions levied in a country which is the seat of war. But it is always allowed, that in such cases, a part must be sacrificed to save the whole; and surely, when by the laws of war, we were entitled to the whole, it was a great degree of moderation to be contented with a part.

The destruction that we could have occasioned, would have trebled the loss they suffer by the payment of the ransom. The rich churches and convents, the king of Spain's own palace, with its superb and costly furniture, the magnificent buildings of every sort, the fortifications, docks, magazines, founderies, cannon, and, in short, the whole might have been entirely ruined, the Spanish empire in Asia subverted, and the fruits of their religious mission lost for ever, together with the lives of many thousand inhabitants, who were spared by our humanity. As a suitable and grateful return for this lenity, the Spanish memorial affirms, that after the capitulation was signed, general Draper ordered, or permitted, the city to be sacked and pillaged for forty hours together, by four thousand English, who plundered it of more than a million of dollars.

As my own character, both as an officer, and a man of honour, is so wickedly attacked by this unjust accusation, I must beg leave to state the whole affair in its true light; and do appeal for its veracity to the testimonies of every officer and soldier, who served in the expedition, and to all of the marine department.

We entered Manila by storm, on the 6th of October 1762, with an handful of troops, whose total amounted to little more than two thousand; a motley composition of seamen, soldiers, seapoys, cafres, lascars, topasees, French and German deserters.

Many of the houses had been abandoned by the frightened inhabitants, and were burst open by the violence of shot,

or explosion of shells. Some of these were entered and pillaged. But all military men know, how difficult it is to restrain the impetuosity of troops in the first fury of an assault, especially when composed of such a variety and confusion of people, who differed as much in sentiments and language, as in dress and complexion.

Several hours elapsed, before the principal magistrates could be brought to a conference; during that interval, the inhabitants were undoubtedly great sufferers. But this violence was antecedent to our settling the terms of the capitulation, and, by the laws of war, the place, with all its contents, became the unquestionable property of the captors, until a sufficient equivalent was given in lieu of it. That several robberies were committed, after the capitulation was signed, is not to be denied; for avarice, want, and rapacity, are ever insatiable: but that the place was pillaged for forty hours, and that pillage authorized and permitted by me, is a most false and infamous assertion. The people of Manila have imposed upon their court, by a representation of facts, which never existed; and to make such a groundless charge the reason for setting aside, and evading a solemn capitulation, is a proceeding unheard-of until now, and as void of decency, as common sense.

To the PUBLISHER of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

In the Collection of Letters from the public Papers, volume the first, page 347, is the following paper, which, in my opinion, can never be too often reprinted.

“ **W**E have been often told by ministerial writers, that our constitution hath not been in the least injured or violated; that we are now as free a people as can be, and enjoy all the liberty human nature is capable of, as we are subject to no laws, but such as are of our own making; that is, by our own representatives freely chosen to parliament. But, Sir, though the people were as free in their choice of representatives as such writers assert, yet may not such members be afterwards biased by the crown? And should we ever live to see an house of commons wherein there were near two hundred placemen and pensioners, could such a parliament be said to be free and independent? But, indeed, the freedom of electing our own representatives, though so much boasted of, is not so perfect as every friend to the constitution of his country could wish; for may it not be truly said, that a fifth
part,

part, at least, of the boroughs, take, according to the modern phrase, a recommendation from the Treasury, and chuse such persons as are utterly strangers to them? Now, in such case, I should be glad to know, whether persons so elected, can be properly called representatives of the people; or whether they are not rather commissioners from the Treasury; and whether laws made by the force of their votes, can be justly called laws made by the consent of the people? In our maritime counties, is not the power of the Admiralty excessive? are not the number of dockmen and cinque-port officers as regularly computed at such county elections, as a gentleman reckons his own tenants? and, what is still worse, are not many of our boroughs totally governed by this mischievous dependance? Hence we see little, low creatures, sent down from above, and forced upon such electors, in prejudice to the neighbouring gentlemen, whom they love and honour, as much as they despise and abhor the mushrooms whom they are compelled to chuse. But they have places in the cinque-ports, or work in the docks, and are therefore looked upon as the property of the Admiralty. The candidate comes to them with letters from thence, and it is well known, that they must pay obedience to them, or forfeit their bread. By these means little dirty tools of power have often been dragged into parliament, and preferred to gentlemen of the best families, characters, and interests in the neighbourhood.— For my own part, Sir, I know not how to call such persons representatives of the people. I cannot help looking upon such members in the same light with my lords the b—s, who are elected, by a *congé d'elire* from the crown; and, like them, I think they ought to be placed on separate benches, apart from those honest country gentlemen, who are chosen by the free and uninfluenced voice of their fellow subjects.”

THE POLITICAL BAROMETER.

ABOUT the latter end of January 1768, died Sir Robert Rich, bart. General Conway immediately succeeded him as colonel of the 4th regiment, having, upon his resignation of the seals, obtained a promise of the first military vacancy worth his acceptance.

Gen. Howard was appointed governor of Chelsea, in the room of Sir Robert Rich, and gen. Mostyn made governor of Minorca in the room of gen. Howard.

Whitehall, Feb. 2. The king has been pleased to issue his commission under the great seal, authorizing and empowering Richard Sutton, William Blair, and William Frazer, esqrs.
or

or any two of them, to execute the office of keeper of his Majesty's privy seal, for and during the space and term of six weeks, determinable nevertheless at his Majesty's pleasure. And also to grant, during his Majesty's pleasure, to the right hon. William earl of Chatham, the said office of keeper of his Majesty's privy seal, from and after the said term of six weeks, or other sooner determination of the said commission. (See page 188.)

On the 17th of February died in the 77th year of his age, at his house in Great Russel-Street, Bloomsbury, the right hon. Arthur Onslow, late speaker of the house of Commons. His patriot conduct, in that important station; his vast application; his impartiality; his univernal spirit; his distinguished loyalty to our gracious sovereigns, and his firm attachment to our excellent constitution, will be the subject of history. His venerable figure, his noble voice, will be long remembered. After greatly impairing a vigorous constitution in the service of his king and country, he judiciously quitted all public business, and retired to his well-chosen library. There he was daily visited by persons of virtue and eminence, of all parties and persuasions; and by the learned, whose company he loved, and of whose labours he had been a great encourager. His familiar friends call to mind, with pleasure and pain, his uncommon affability, his vast memory, (happy repository of useful and entertaining knowledge!) and his very communicative disposition, whence he was perpetually addressed as an oracle in all parliamentary matters. At the conclusion of the late parliament, he declared his intention of retiring; upon which the house unanimously resolved (March 18, 1761) to give him their thanks for his constant and unwearied attendance in the chair, during the course of above thirty-three years, in five successive parliaments, for the unshaken integrity and steady impartiality of his conduct there; and for the indefatigable pains he had, with uncommon abilities, constantly taken to promote the real interest of his king and country; to maintain the honour and dignity of parliament, and to preserve inviolable the rights and privileges of the Commons of Great-Britain. He was so much affected by this proof of their love and esteem, that he could not answer with his usual eloquence; the emotions of his heart burst out in the following broken sentences, which are printed in the journals, vol. 28, p. 1108: "I was never under so great a difficulty in my life to know what to say in this place, as I am at present—Indeed it is almost too much for me.—I can stand against misfortunes and distresses;

distresses : I have stood against misfortunes and distresses ; and may do so again ; but I am not able to stand this overflow of good will and honour to me. It overpowers me ; and had I all the strength of language, I could never express the full sentiments of my heart, upon this occasion, of thanks and gratitude. If I have been happy enough to perform any services here, that are acceptable to the house, I am sure I now receive the noblest reward for them ; the noblest that any man can receive for any merit, far superior, in my estimation, to all the other emoluments of this world. I owe every thing to this house ; I not only owe to this house, that I am in this place, but that I have had their constant support in it ; and to their good will and assistance, their tenderness and indulgence towards me in my errors, it is, that I have been able to perform my duty here to any degree of approbation ; thanks therefore are not so much due to me for these services, as to the house itself, who made them to be services in me.

“ When I began my duty here, I set out with a resolution, and promise to the house, to be impartial in every thing, and to shew respect to every body. The first I know I have done ; it is the only merit I can assume. If I have failed in the other, it was unwillingly, it was inadvertently ; and I ask their pardon, most sincerely, to whomsoever it may have happened.—I can truly say, the giving satisfaction to all has been my constant aim, my study, and my pride.

“ And now, Sirs, I am to take my last leave of you. It is, I confess, with regret, because the being within these walls has ever been the chief pleasure of my life : but my advanced age and infirmities, and some other reasons, call for retirement and obscurity. There I shall spend the remainder of my days ; and shall only have power to hope and to pray, and my hopes and prayers, my daily prayer, will be, for the continuance of the constitution in general, and that the freedom, the dignity, and authority of this house may be perpetual.”

This speech, and the affecting manner in which it was delivered, made a much deeper impression on the house, than the most florid and studied harangue. They immediately voted him their thanks for it ; and addressed his Majesty to confer some signal mark of his royal favour upon Mr. Onslow ; and added, that whatever expence should thereby be incurred, they would make it good : upon which 3000*l.* per annum, payable out of the Treasury, was settled upon him for life, and for the life of his son, now the right hon. George Onslow, one of the lords of the Treasury.

To

To the Editor of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The following is a true copy of a letter sent to the inhabitants of Shrewsbury, by Richard Duke of York, father to King Edward the fourth. It seems to have been written some time between the year 1455, when the Duke first took up arms, and the year 1460, when he lost his life in the battle of Wakefield. Your inserting it in your useful and entertaining Register will oblige, I dare say, many of your readers, and particularly

Your humble servant,

D. G.

P. S. I have copied it from the original, which is in the Duke's own hand writing; and another copy is in the possession of the Antiquarian Society.

To my right worshipful frendes; the Baillys Burgeys and Commons of the good town of Shroesbury.

Right Worshipful Frendes.

I Recomande me unto you; and I suppose hit is wel known unto you, as wel by experince, as by comun langage faide and rapported thorough oute al Christendome, what laude what worship honur and manhood was ascribed of al nations unto the people of this Roÿaume, whiles the kyng our Souveran lord stood possessed of the Lordshipe in his Roÿaume of France and Duchye of Normandie. And what Derogation losse of marchandise lesion deshonur and vilanie is faide and rapported generally unto the englyshe nation for losse of the same. Namely unto the Duc of Somerset, whiche had the government and charge therof. The whiche losse hath caused and encouraged the kyngs ennemis for to conqueire and gete Gascoigne and Gwyenne. And now daily thay make thaire accunte for to laye siege unto Calais and to other places in the marches there, for to applye thaym to their obeissance; and soo for to come into this lande with grete puissances to the final destruction therof, gif thay myght obtene thaire entents, and to put the lande in thaire subjection, whiche God defende. And on the other part hit is to be supposed hit is not unknowne unto you, how that, after my comyng out of Irland, I as the kyngs trewe liege man and servant (and so I shal bee to my lyves ende) for my trewe acquital producing the moonument afore reherfed, advertissed his Roial maiestie of certain articles concernyng the wel and sauve-

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garde as wel of his moost Roial personne as the tranquillitie and conseruation of al this his Royaume. The whiche aduertisements, how bee hit that hit was thoght that thay were ful necessary—were layed apart, and to be noon effect though the envye malice & untrothe of the saide Duc of Somerset; whiche, for my trouthe feith and legeance that I owe unto the kyng, and the good wille and faveur that I have to al his Royaume, laboureth continually aboute the kyng's highnesse for myn undoing, and to corrupte my blood, and to deshonour me and myn heires, and suche personnes as been aboute me, withouten any desert or cause down or attempted on my part or thaires—I make our lord juge. Wherefore Worshipful Frendes, to thentent that every man that knows my pourpose and desir for to declare me suche as I am, I signifie unto you, that with the helpe and supportation of Almighty God and of oure Lady and of al the Compaignie of heven, I, after longe souffrance and Delayes, not in wille nor entent to desplaie my Souveran Lord,—(Seyng that the saide Duc ever prevaiileth and ruleth aboute the kyng's personne, that by his meen the lande is likly to bee destroyed) am fully concluded for to procede in al haste agensst hym with the helpe of my kynnesmen and frendes, in suche wise that hit shal growe to the more eese pees tranquillitie and sauvegarde of al the lande—Evermore kepyng me within the boundes of my legeance, as hit parteeneth to my Duetie, praying and exhorting you to fortifye enforce and assiste me, and to come to me with al diligence wheresoever I shal bee or drawe, with as many goodly and able men as ye may make, to execute thentent abouvesaide.—Writen under my Signet at my Castel of Lodelowe the III Day of Fevrier. Furthermore I pray you, that suche streyte appointment and ordonnance bee made, that the people whiche shal come in youre felaship, or bee sent unto me by youre agreement, bee demeaned in suche wise by the weye, that thay doo noon offense nor roberie nor oppression unto the people in lesion of justice, Writen as abouue.

Your good Frend

R. York.

A FRAGMENT. *Containing many interesting and constitutional remarks on the case of Mr. Wilkes. Written in the summer of 1763; and now first published.*

THE ministry were the aggressors in the political warfare of defamatory writings : Their great champions first took up arms ; but neither abilities, falsehoods, nor pay, could keep the mercenaries in the field. They were fairly beat, and retired. Then their masters, pricked with pungent retaliation, armed with irresistible evidence of fact, used the *corps de reserve* of power, and called for the artillery of the law to defeat their adversaries, on whom they could make no impression by answers, argument, nor by corruption.

If the private persons, whose characters were abused by the falsities and libels invented and written by the tools of administration, had been so ill advised, or so sorely hurt, as to have prosecuted the authors of them, they would have incurred an immense expence ; they had not the power of government to apprehend and commit, even on good ground of suspicion, nor to seize papers to fish for evidence. The persons accused would have been defended by those who employed them, as the instruments of the oppressive proceedings against the liberty of the subject always are. We should have seen the flower of the bar brought down to plead, that the writings were not libels. If there had been a conviction of the authors ; the small, but meritorious sufferings they would have undergone, would have made their fortune. But when ministers are incensed with truth, and truth published with constitutional freedom, the cry is *libel and faction* ; imprisonments and informations of the most rigorous kind are pursued ; the whole circuit of the law is to be run through, before a poor printer's servant, illegally imprisoned, can recover the damages given him by a jury of his country upon a fair trial ; so unequal is the ground on which these sacred characters the ministers of state (for they take to themselves the privileges of sacred Majesty) and private persons stand in this grievous matter of libels.

When all these circumstances are fairly considered, the late extraordinary proceedings can have no excuse from the motives to which they are ascribed, the pretence to which is utterly destroyed by a conduct so manifestly inconsistent with them ; and the proceedings themselves are of such a nature, that it is impossible to justify them.

General warrants of apprehension have been issued from the Secretary of State's office, not containing the name, or personal distinction of any man; which, of itself, is so high an offence against the laws of England, that a chief justice was impeached for it, in a reign not more favourable to liberty than that of Charles II. Messengers have been illegally entrusted with a power of seizing, whomever they pleased to comprehend under a general description. A member of parliament, who has said in the face of a court of justice, that the arts of corruption had been tried upon him, has been apprehended by a *verbal* order, which was directed to be executed, with circumstances of the most extraordinary kind, both for inhumanity and illegality; his locks were broke open, and his papers carried away. The *habeas corpus* act was evaded by a change of custody, after notice of a writ granted; and the severe punishment of the most rigorous close imprisonment, for several days, was inflicted, contrary to all law, by the commands of the secretaries of state.

These things may indeed find their remedy in the law, though by a tedious course, even in opposition to all the weight of power. Independent English juries will maintain the liberty of the subject; and the House of Commons has it in its own power to vindicate the privileges which it holds in trust for the people of England, as the great means of securing the independency of parliament, which so necessarily depends upon them.

But the attempt to make the name of the King a restraint upon freedom, seems to be no less threatening to the constitution, than actual invasions of liberty; and is the more dangerous that it is not so easily to be guarded against. Personal respect to his Majesty is now used to bear down the feelings of national interest; and ministerial transactions must be applauded by those who do not approve of them, as a mark of duty to the King. Such arguments have been much pressed to procure addresses in praise of the peace. The people,—that same people whose voice, but a little before, was represented to be a meer phantom, has been called, requested, solicited, and entreated, not only by private applications, but by public invitations, at least to express their sense of the King's goodness, and regard for the welfare of his people, in delivering them from a bloody, burdensome, and expensive war; though the terms of the peace may not be quite to their satisfaction. No fact can be more certain than this; that of the hundreds who, under the title of the Merchants of London, signed the late address, there were not only many who did it to oblige, or not

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to disoblige some person, whose favour they wished to enjoy, but that many declare they did it as a *personal* compliment to the King; though they had, and still continue to have, a very bad opinion of the peace. The consistency of such a conduct let them answer for; but the truth is beyond dispute. *

A *favourite* seizes the power of this country in defiance to the inclinations, and with the utmost contempt of the confidence of the people: In spite of their loudest cries, he sacrifices the interests of the kingdom, with a view to secure to himself the possession of the power he had engrossed: And it is to be esteemed undutiful to the King, if the people do not perfume the costly offering with the incense of their acclamations.

If the name of the King, or the pretence of respect to the sovereign, once obtains influence to awe us into professions of approbation of the measures of government; the power of the crown may, in time, be able to supersede any demand for such professions, by silencing all complaints, be the cause for them never so strong: And perhaps between the two, there are not many steps. Hitherto, the regal authority has been considered as the sacred instrument of securing obedience to the laws: But considerations, *personal* to the King, can have no place in matters that relate to the administration of government. The idea is altogether foreign to the constitution.

Addresses to the throne are one of the noblest marks of English freedom. While by these the people express their satisfaction with the measures of administration, they maintain their right to disapprove of ministers; and their disapprobation is not without effect. The great historian, whose knowledge and love of this constitution are equally conspicuous, having mentioned, in the reign of that unhappy and deluded Prince Henry VI. "that the King, who acted only by the Queen's suggestions, created the Marquis of Suffolk (whose wicked counsels were the cause of his master's ruin) a Duke; and that the Queen seemed to intend to brave the people, by daily showing

* One merchant, of great repute, has often been heard to declare, that he would give 1000l. that his name had not been at the address, which he was over-persuaded to sign against his opinion: And nothing is more common than to hear those who subscribed it, condemn particular parts of it, and own the motives which induced them, contrary to their opinion, to mix their names with the multitude of unknown, and little better than fictitious, ones that there appeared.

“ ering her favours upon a Lord so extremely odious to the
 “ whole nation,” adds a most judicious remark upon that part
 of his history : “ It is (says he) an error, to which those at the
 “ helm are frequently liable, to disregard the complaints of the
 “ people. As they are always surrounded with flatterers, or
 “ ignorant of what passes any where but at court ; or imagine,
 “ that having most of the great men for them, the rest of the
 “ people are to be counted as nothing : But it often happens,
 “ they find it to their cost, that the great men, and Kings
 “ themselves, have no more power than private persons, when
 “ unsupported by the people.

The monarch of France is not troubled with addresses from his people ; he values those of his parliament so little, that, but the other day, he would not allow them the honour to present their congratulations upon the peace, which we need not doubt were very sincere ; and would have told such truths to England, as her ministers must have dreaded she should hear. But that nation is no longer free ; the will of the King is the law of the country ; and neither needs approbation, nor admits contradiction. If the people of England mean to maintain the standard-value of the right of addressing the crown, they should not prostitute, or make too cheap, that privilege which was dearly purchased, and if lost, they would find difficult to recover.

Recent occurrences shew how quick the steps of dangerous influence are, and how easily one species of it leads to another. The weight of the King's name is already applied, with great ardor, to check public disquisitions on national affairs.

The constitution has established, amongst other communications, one between the throne and the people, by speeches and messages to parliament. In these the King, as the mouth of government, lays before the nation the proceedings of administration, that the public may know what situation they are in. The language, at present, is, that the intervention of Majesty, as the channel of this intercourse, renders sacred whatever comes from the throne. It is said, that when the King speaks, it is his own *personal* act, and therefore to canvass, or contradict any thing contained in a speech from the throne, is disrespectful to the sacred person of the King, an affront to Majesty, and calling in question the royal veracity and candour. Thus ministers, whose conduct cannot bear the probe of public discussion, attempt to hide the sores of their putrid administration under the skirts of royalty.

This cannot perhaps be so properly called extending the prerogative, or stretching the power of the crown ; but it is giving
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ing the name of the King an unknown, and an unconstitutional influence, and an authority, as mischievous as either. The notion, if properly worked up, and effectually instilled into the people, may produce very bad consequences. It was one of the principles upon which James I. endeavoured to found the despotism, which he first attempted to reduce into a system; "that to complain of the administration, was want of respect to the King," the necessary consequence of which, (as has been well observed) and that which he aimed at, was, that no grievances could be taken into consideration, nor any complaints made, since grievances are generally acts of wrong, or injustice done by the King or his ministers. His son and successor Charles I. carried this so far, that he pretended to hinder parliament from meddling with his ministers. Very early in his reign, speaking to the Commons, he said, "I must let you know, that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you, much less such as are of eminent place, and near unto me." He did as is now attempted to be done; he made his ministers as sacred as himself: So in one of his messages to the Commons, he said, "He had no meaning of barring them from what had been their right, but only to avoid all scandals on his council and actions past; and that his ministers might not be, nor himself under their names, taxed for their counsel unto his Majesty."

If there were any foundation for this unconstitutional doctrine, where would our liberty be? What might not any minister accomplish, if he could get it sanctified by *imposing upon the sovereign*? If one were found disposed to lend himself to bad designs, he has nothing to do but to call in royalty to cover him in the execution of them. The least spark of such doctrine is big with danger, both to the King and to the people. It is subversive of the fundamental principles of the constitution, and tends to an absolute change of the nature of the government. A regard is affected for Majesty; but it is, in reality, betraying the safety of the Prince.

The necessary effect must be either to overthrow the rights of the people, or to expose the person of the sovereign to all the consequences of ill government; a dangerous alternative, which the wisdom of the constitution has been at the utmost pains to guard against.

Indignity to the King is much talked of; but, on the other hand, there is ground to complain, that the King's name is made so much use of on every occasion, to choak the free discussion of public affairs. We are pestered with it from the press; and it has been working its way into a certain assembly, to the debates

bates of which it ought to be an utter stranger. It is a weed of quick growth; and, if it is not speedily checked, it may prove a more successful instrument of undermining the liberties of this country, than the open attacks of despotism itself.

The author of number forty-five of the North Briton, is charged with insulting Majesty, because he has laid open a fallacy which, he says, is contained in the speech from the throne. This is the pretence for those proceedings so intolerable to liberty, that have already been mentioned. Rapin says, on the case of Lord Dudley Seymour, uncle to Edward VI. "that *that*" "was not the only time that plots against *ministers* have been "reckoned *high treason*." So, on this occasion, one of the secretaries of state, by the first warrant, pronounced the aforesaid paper to be nothing less than treasonable: In the second, they both concurred to declare it seditious; and it is deemed criminal to differ from them, though so far from being agreed in their own opinion, or to desire any other proof of the fact, than their accusation.

Addressees have been procured from every corner, where ministerial influence reached, expressing the highest resentment against disrespect and indignity to the King; and the whole kingdom has been made to ring with a cry against faction and sedition. His Majesty has been advised, not only to direct a prosecution against the gentleman who was committed to the Tower, as the author of that paper, but to dismiss him from the public service, as a militia officer, without waiting the issue of a legal trial. Marks, too, of the Royal displeasure have been procured against persons of the first distinction, for daring to appear in the cause of liberty, when they thought it injured and oppressed by proceedings which would have been illegal in the highest degree, whatever had been the cause for which, or whoever the person against whom, they were pursued. To crown all, a most indecent declaration has been published, which every good subject must believe to be forged, notwithstanding the pretended authority with which it has been circulated in all the news-papers, importing "that his Majesty "would not suffer an insult with impunity from the greatest;" the intended application of which could not be doubted; and every possible method has been taken to make the public believe, that the King had taken a personal concern in this affair.

Whoever advised his Majesty, by any act of his own, to prejudge a person who was to be brought to a legal trial, did not give sound counsel to the crown: It was doing a real injury to the King, as well as a hurt to the subject. The proceeding is un-

unconstitutional, and dangerous : So the house of Lords thought, when, in the case of the impeachment of the Earl of Portland, and other Lords, they addressed the King " not to pass any censure upon them, till they were tried upon the impeachments, and judgment given, according to the usage of parliament, and the law of the land." The tendency of many of the steps that have been taken, is to make the King appear (much contrary to the known dispositions of his royal heart) to take a part in a criminal prosecution, below the dignity of the crown, inconsistent with the safety of the subject, and dangerous to the course of justice. Such things are branded in history as the disgrace of the reigns of the *Stuarts*. They who attempt them now stain the honour of the august family upon the throne; the princes of which have been the glorious defenders and protectors of that liberty and justice, which they were called in to maintain.

It is a strange turn that is now given to every thing, by always bringing the King into the question. Opposition to ministers, is represented as a personal opposition to his Majesty. One man injudiciously boasts that he has the royal confidence; and what is, not with more imprudence than vanity, called the *friendship* of the King: He does all he can to shut out from the sovereign every person, of whatever rank or order, who does not swear fealty to himself, and all who will not submit to his absolute domination, must be held to oppose the King. This is to set his Majesty at variance with the best friends of his family, and to breed a personal quarrel between the sovereign and the first subjects of the kingdom. Things are come to a sad pass indeed, if every instance of opposition to ministers is to be treated as an insult to Majesty; and all complaints against their conduct, even those which charge them with abuses against the King himself, are to be considered as indignities to the throne. This is to play the game of the *favourites* of Richard II. who (history informs us) " persuaded that young King, they suffered for his sake, and that the designs of their enemies aimed not so much at the *ministers*, as at the *King* himself; and, by that means, led him to consent to all their plots for the destruction of his uncle the Duke of Gloucester, who was at the head of those whom they called *factious*:" an infamous example, in imitation of which, the *Cocoa-tree* letter, with unparalleled audacity, has not scrupled to assign to an uncle of the blood royal, the same dishonourable rank, in what is now termed *faction*.

No minister, who had any real regard for the King, would ever have thought of making him a party to his quarrel, or of

suffering his name to be drawn into a political dispute; and, still less, of putting it into his mind that he was personally aimed at. Very different was the conduct of even a wicked wretch and an assassin, *Du Chatel* the favourite and confidant of Charles VII. of France, who, when he found his master could not procure some great advantages, but at the expence of parting with his favourites and confidants, which he was very loath to do, cast himself at his feet, entreating him to give him leave to retire, since his presence at court could not, for the future, but be detrimental to so good a master; and the King having, with extreme reluctance, granted his request, he did retire *effestually*. "But, (says the historian) there are few favourites who thus prefer their master's good to their own." *Louvet*, the other favourite of that reign, held fast his influence and place at court, till the King was at length forced, though with the utmost indignation, to dismiss him too. Such has been the fate of favourites in France, as well as other countries.

At present, under colour of making his Majesty resent an insult to himself, royalty is exposed to all the disgrace and dishonour redounding from the misconduct of those in office. They violate the liberty of the subject, and invade the privileges of parliament in the most outrageous manner: They bring upon government the reproach of a conviction for oppressive and illegal imprisonments, of which there has not been an example since the accession of the Brunswick line: They carry on the most violent prosecutions with all the weight of power. In short, every barrier has been broke through—the *repagula juris, pudoris, & officii*. All this has been done to wreak the resentment of unpopular ministers upon those who oppose them; and to buoy up the credit of a weak administration, by a diversion of the universal clamour against it. The end will shew that this method cannot succeed. *Power void of council* must fall with its own weight. But by representing the King as personally concerned in such proceedings, his majesty is set up by his ministers as the mark of the *odium* they occasion, hoping thereby to turn it away from themselves who deserve it. The regent of France, when pressed by his officious flatterers to persecute the curate of St. Sulpice, for preaching against him, with a royal contempt of what could not reach him, said, "What had the man to do with me? I am not of his parish." He knew that it was as ill an office as a minister could do to his prince, to involve him in personalities, though with the lowest of his people. Patience, even under contumely, has always been esteemed a princely virtue, not less useful than noble.—*Si quæ alia in Philippo virtus, fuit et contumeliarum patientia, INGENS instrumentum*

instrumentum ad tutelam regni. But to stir up royal anger with *feñitious* affronts is the injury of an enemy, not the kindness of a friend,—the art of a sycophant, not the fidelity of a minister.

Those who really love and honour the King, must grieve and lament to see him so betrayed. Every thinking person perceives it is the servants of the crown, making the name and authority of the King the instrument of their own views, without regard to the consequences to Majesty and to government. It is a real indignity to the throne, thus to make the sacred person of Majesty a cloak for private purposes, and to pervert the power of government to serve the most unworthy ends.

Those who have held up the affair, now in agitation, in such a light to his Majesty, as they are at pains to persuade the public he sees it in, must be sensible, that the best friends of government are, amongst other things, much dissatisfied with the matter and expression of the speech, which was put into the King's mouth, at the close of last session, in that part relating to the King of Prussia: And the keenest partizans of administration are not rash enough to defend it.

Is every person, then, from the first nobles of the land, downward, to incur a proscription, as guilty of an insult to the King, who dares to complain of ministers for contaminating the throne with their misrepresentations of public affairs, which highly concern the honour of the kingdom? Can they possibly think that they shall terrify the people of England from examining the speeches made to their representatives, or from contradicting and exposing fallacious assertions, which they so far impose upon the sovereign, as to make the royal lips the vehicle of conveying to the people, to deceive them too? If they do, they must think, others know as little of the constitution as some of themselves seem to do; and that by inclusing the King, they will for ever exclude the truth from him. For it is impossible, that they can escape the royal resentment, which they now provoke against others, one moment after there is access to state their conduct in its true colours to his Majesty. He must then see how he himself has been abused, his subjects injured, and his firmest friends ill-treated by them.

Had those who, of late, have thrust themselves into the management of public affairs, been able to justify to the world the ministerial language which they circulated from the throne, they would have made a much better, as well as a more honest and fair defence for themselves, than by the cry they have endeavoured to raise of an insult to Majesty. This has not been attempted by *ministerial* communications to the public, and miserable have been the *backney* endeavours in news-papers, be-

cause the fact would not admit of better, or more successful. So sensible is administration of the weakness of their ground in that matter, that though they have, with all their might, turned to their own advantage the pretence of a personal affront having been given to the King, by alledging there is a fallacy in the speech, that particular article of the paper complained of has not been made any part of the ground of the information against the publisher of it. A stronger proof could not have been given that the charge is known to be true, by the ministers who complain of it. How indefensible then is their conduct; first, in imposing on his Majesty, and then pretending to say, an unparalleled insult has been offered to the King, by charging *them*, and *them only*, with what they dare not bring to a trial, and have not even set their face to deny?

Galled by the just reproaches which it has brought upon them; unable to defend themselves against truth; seeing that they have no title to pity, and expecting no mercy from the public, they slip Majesty between them and the stroke, and cry out, the blow is aimed at the King. They lay their own fault upon the sovereign, and would make royalty carry the burden of their blame. Is it a desirable prerogative to be given to the crown, that of sanctifying the misrepresentations of ministers, by the royal utterance, when the sovereign is himself imposed upon? The compliment is a very ungracious one which the ministers pay to Majesty, by saying, as in fact they do, that the King makes the fallacy, which they are the authors of, *his own*, by pronouncing the speech, and that it is a personal affront to the sovereign to assert there is a fallacy, though it cannot be denied. The true friends of the King cannot hear such language but with the highest indignation. The ministers may pretend what they will, but it is *they* who have violated the honour of the sovereign,—they abuse Majesty.

Every one does not know exactly the principles of the constitution, by which we are to judge with what degree of authority a speech from the throne is stamped, whether it is to be considered as personal to the King, or ascribed to the ministers; and how far it is sacred above any other act of administration whatever, and exempt from the freedom of discussion with which all ministerial transactions may be treated. The rights of Majesty are venerable; and no good subject would wish to offend against that personal respect that is due to the sovereign. It was therefore very artful to raise a cry against the alledged author of the *North Briton*, that he had affronted the King, and to proclaim aloud, that whoever countenanced him, or avowed what he advanced, was a partaker of his offence. Perhaps some
were

were stunned with this at first: Duty to his Majesty might be too strong for the rights of liberty, and fear of being disrespectful to the King might silence the claims of truth. But when people recovered from the first surprise, and examined the affair coolly, it was impossible not to see through the ministerial artifice. There are of those, who will have no superiors in loyalty, and cannot be exceeded by any in personal respect, duty, and affection to the King, and yet will not easily yield the freedom of examining what ministers are pleased to put into the speeches they make for the throne. Nor will they join in a cry against any man, were he ever so culpable in other respects, as affronting the King, for doing what they think it is the privilege of every subject to do. That is wounding the constitution, under pretence of regard to royalty. The respect due to his Majesty, in that matter, is to distinguish him from the ministers; to exculpate the King, as the constitution does, from any wrong; and to lay the fault, if there is one, upon the ministers, whose, most indisputably, it is.

It is a question of too much magnitude to be confounded with any thing else, what liberty the constitution allows to be taken with the King's speech; and therefore it ought to be considered by itself. But can the strongest prejudices carry any man, who will use his own eyes and understanding, to believe that the author of the *North Briton*, number forty-five, be he who he will, meant an insult to the King? All he has said, is levelled against the ministers, and he expresses, in a variety of sentences, the utmost respect for his sovereign; a heart-felt duty and affection to his person; a high veneration for his qualities; and an undissembled attachment to his royal house, and the succession to the crown in the protestant line.

Many writings appeared in the two former reigns, the profest design of which was, to render the illustrious House of Hannover odious to the people of England, and to promote Jacobitism and disaffection. The authors of those writings, some of whom, perhaps, are now the pensioned scribblers for the ministers of this reign, would have been sorry not to be understood to point their virulence and abuse against the reigning prince, his family, and title to the throne. Their only concern was to keep within the law, so as to escape punishment: and even *that* they did not always. The reverse is the case with the writer of the *North Briton*; if he is to be judged by what he has published. Whatever objections there may be to things that have appeared in any of those papers, partiality itself cannot charge the author with disaffection to the King or his family. Perhaps there never was a paper of that kind, that every

every body would approve in the lump : And it is not the present intention to defend the *North Briton* in all points, or to adopt every sentiment and opinion it has, at any time, contained : Neither does it belong to the design here pursued, to examine the fitness of particular expressions in number *forty-five*, which a tender ear would wish had been avoided. These are not the object of legal jurisdiction, and must be tried at the bar of delicacy, where the rules of retaliation, and notions of resentment, incident to political writers, may perhaps plead for allowances, in proportion to the keenness of party rage. *That*, unhappily, is never confined to one side, and too often carries the combatants to use harsh terms, and to make reflections, both general and particular, that cannot be approved by the cool and dispassionate ; and are very disagreeable to those who do not relish virulence and invective, come from what quarter it will. But, to the conviction of all mankind, the paper has been wrote upon Whig principles, from its first out-set ; and the number *forty-five*, though, possibly, not quite exact and precise in its delineation of the parts of the constitution it touches upon, breathes the *revolution-spirit* of liberty, as to those points.

The author has waged perpetual war with Toryism and disaffection. Nothing has been more complained of in the whole course of the paper, than that, ever since the *favourite's* influence became predominant, the staunch, known, and tried friends of the royal family, have been depressed ; and the avowed enemies of it unreasonably elevated, rather than sincerely converted ; a thing very desirable, but of which, their insolence towards the *natural stock*, that needed no conversion, which they have remarkably shewn, since they found themselves in favour, is but a bad proof. It is not reasonable to think that such a writer should mean to give a personal affront to the King. But nothing can be further from every expression in the paper, about which so much noise has been made. It is impossible to torture it into an insult to majesty, unless the word *minister* is the same with the word *king* ; and unless the strongest expressions of regard for the prince upon the throne, are not only to have no meaning at all allowed them, but are even to be interpreted into invectives against the sovereign, whose applause they sound.

The paper begins with laying this foundation, that “ the King’s speech has always been considered by the legislature, and by the public at large, as *the speech of the minister*.” The speech there treated of, is called an instance of *ministerial effrontery*. It is expressly named in every part of the paper, the *minister’s speech*.

speech. The author signifies his "doubt, whether the *imposition* he complains of, is greater *on the sovereign*, or on the nation." The lamentation he makes, is "that a *prince of the excellent character he describes*, can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name to unjustifiable public declarations from a throne, renowned for truth, honour, and unfulfilled virtue."

It is *the minister*, who, it is said, is held in contempt and abhorrence for it. He, it is said, *has made our sovereign declare* that in which lies the *fallacy* inveighed against: It is called a strain of insolence in the *minister*, to lay claim to what he is conscious all his efforts tended to prevent. After asserting that no hiring of the minister had been hardy enough to dispute what he had advanced, it is said, "Yet *the minister himself has made our sovereign declare*, &c."—"The *minister's speech* (it is said) dwells on the approbation given by parliament to the preliminary articles."—"The *minister* cannot forbear, even in the King's speech, insulting us with a dull repetition of the word *economy*," and "in vain will such a *minister* preach up in the speech that spirit of concord," &c. In short, it is the *minister*, and nothing but the minister, which runs through the whole paper; and all the wrong complained of, is charged upon the *minister*.

A political paper wrote a great many years ago, to expose the danger of making writings criminal by *inuendoes*, proved a treatise on the small-pox to be the blackest treason, by translating the word *variol* to mean *government*, and adapting every other term according to the same dictionary. Sure that method will not be taken to prove that there is an insult aimed at the King in this paper?

It is a different affair, whether the author of the *North Briton* is right or wrong, in what he has advanced in the several places of the paper, where he uniformly pursues the above dialect; or whether the fundamental principle, on which he proceeds, be a just one or no. But, is he arraigning the *minister*, or insulting *majesty*?—Is it the *King*, or the *minister*, that he charges with what he alledges is wrong? Can any man lay his hand on his heart, and say, that the person who wrote that paper, has said the *King* is the author of a fallacy; because he has charged the *minister* with having imposed on the sovereign, and, by imposition, made him declare a thing which is a fallacy? We may confound *majesty* and *ministers* as we please, when we wish to destroy the distinction, for the purpose of making *royal veracity* a protection to *ministerial fallacy*; but this writer separates them with the plainest discrimination.—He gives to each his part.—The one, he says, is *imposed upon*; the

the other is *the author of the imposition*. Which of these is the crime? Any person may be imposed upon, but he is innocent; none can impose upon another without being criminal. Royalty does not deify human nature; and what man, or what King, so wise and so able, as not, in some instance or other, to have been imposed upon? It is the common lot of humanity to be liable to deception: But that sort of imposition that springs from misinformation, or want of just information, it is not in the power of any man to secure himself against; and, of all others, Kings are most liable to it.

The author of the *North Briton*, number *forty-five*, is not contented with the most explicit language that the English tongue affords, to point out, beyond a possibility of being mistaken, that it is the *minister* he accuses; and that, so far from charging *majesty*, the very charge itself is, having *imposed upon the King*.—Not contented with this, he gives the King's character, in terms full of respect, as a *prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres*.—That is not the language of insult.

The regard he expresses in this very paper for the late good King, is an irresistible proof of the affection and attachment of the person who wrote it, to his present majesty, and all the royal family.——Part of his indignation against the *minister*, is for not shewing a due regard to the honour, either of our late gracious sovereign, or of his present majesty. “Was it (says he) a *tender regard* for the honour of the late King, or of his present majesty, that invited to court Lord George Sackville?” Nobody is at a loss to know what branch of the royal family he describes, as *the most amiable Princess in the world*, who, it is supposed, is to make happy a distinguished prince of the same illustrious line. Is that the stile of the enemies of his majesty's family? How does he speak of the *security of the House of Hanover*? “What a shame (says he) was it to see the security of this country, in point of military force, complimented away, *contrary to the opinion of royalty itself*, and sacrificed to the prejudices, and to the ignorance of a set of people, the most unfit, from every consideration, to be consulted on a matter relative to the security of the *House of Hanover*.” He speaks with high satisfaction, of a *loyal and affectionate people*; an idea that could give no pleasure to a person disaffected to his Majesty's august family, or inclined to affront the King. No man, that is not a hearty friend to his majesty, and to the protestant succession of the crown in his family, would write in such a strain. The words are stronger than a thousand arguments. Such things do not look like a design to alienate the affections of his majesty's

majesty's subjects, or stir up traiterous insurrections against his government. *That* belongs to those who have no good-will to the House of Hanover; whose loyalty is attached to an exiled and abjured family. When the author of the *North Briton* speaks of that family, (as he does in this paper) he uses another kind of tone. "The *Stuart line* (says he) has ever been intoxicated with the slavish doctrines of the absolute, independent, unlimited power of the crown." *Cætera desunt.*

It may be worth while just to remark, that the controversy about the *speeches* from the throne to the *Lords* and *Commons*, seems to have been started in Pope's time. He says,

And lies to ev'ry lord in ev'ry thing,
Like a King's favourite—or like a King.

Pope. Warburton's edit. vol. iv. p. 255.

Quatrieme Lettre de J. J. Rousseau, à Mr. D.

EN vous adressant ma quatrieme lettre, je ne m'attacherai pas scrupuleusement à des préliminaires. Je reprends, cher ami ! l'histoire humiliante des miseres de l'homme. Je lui présente un miroir ; il le ternit par son souffle : un moment après il ne se ressouvient plus de ses traits.

Nous commençons les premiers momens de notre existence dans les cris et dans les larmes : les indices de vie que nous donnons, sont des indices de misere ; et si l'on vouloit parler le langage de la vérité, en voyant un enfant ouvrir ses foibles paupieres à la lumiere, et les refermer à l'instant, ne s'écrierait-on pas ? Voilà un être malheureux ! Et, comme s'il prévoyoit qu'il commence à entrer en société parmi une foule de barbares, ses pleurs n'annotent-ils pas qu'il demande à être traité avec douceur ? Pauvre infortuné ! la nature seule est ton guide ; elle t'avertit du danger : bientôt ta propre expérience achevera de te convaincre.

A peine commençons nous à balbutier les noms, les tendres noms de pere et de mere, qu'on nous prépare

Des livres de toute couleur,

Des chatimens de toute espèce.

Nous continuons nos jours dans les craintes, bientôt suivies d'inquiétudes et d'agitations ; et enfin le cœur devient la victime de la cupidité, et la proie de toutes les passions : tous les monstres y établissent leur empire, et y gouvernent en souverains. Dès-lors entraîné par le tourbillon, disciple insensé de

la moleſſe, l'homme ne connoît plus d'autre règle que ſes penchans et ſes plaiſirs.

Eſclave infortuné, il porte ſes chaînes à regret, et n'oſe les brifer ; accablé ſous le poids de ſes miſeres, il ſent la peſanteur de ſes fers : pourquoi le plaindrois-je ? Il ne ſe plaint pas lui-même ; et il n'a pas le courage de les rompre. Pour faire diverſion à ſa douleur, il ſe jette ſans réflexion au milieu du tumulte ; vain effort ! il n'y trouve que ce qu'il vouloit éviter. Il ſe croit heureux dans la jouiſſance des objets terreſtres, et ne découvre pas la honte de ſes fers. Affervi ſous un joug qu'il aime et qu'il déteſte, il ſe ménage ſes peines et ſes tourmens.

Irrité par la fureur de la vengeance, par les transports de la colere, par les débordemens de la volupté, par les infamies de l'impureté. Sans ceſſe tourmenté par la crainte et l'eſperance, par la foibleſſe que le fait tomber dans le piège, et par les remords, qui le rongent après s'y être précipité. Auſſi troublé par les biens qui lui échappent, que par ceux qu'il poſſede, tout l'attire, et rien ne le fixe ; tout lui plaît, et rien ne le contente : ſon cœur eſt le théâtre d'une foule de paſſions contradictoires. Privé de tous ſes privilèges, il ne conſerve de ſa première grandeur originelle que le deſir d'être heureux, et la triſte douleur de reconnoître qu'il ne le ſera jamais dans la poſſeſſion des objets terreſtres dont il eſt trop avide. Voilà la vie de l'homme, un flux et reflux de biſarreries, et de contradictions : et nous ne nous rendons à nous-mêmes, que lorsque nous deſcendons dans le morne ſilence du ſombre tombeau.

Paſſons à la mort : hélas ! la plupart n'y paſſe que trop tôt pour eux mêmes, trop tard pour les autres. Viens ici, homme orgueilleux ! approche avec tout ton étalage de pompe et de vanité : apprends ce que tu ſeras ; ſpectre hideux ! ſi tu n'a pas encore rougi, apprends à le faire ; ici la nature te marque ta véritable deſtinée. Ecartons, cher ami ! un tableau ſi lugubre et ſi humiliant ; je n'en préſente que l'eſquiſſe. Toute chair n'eſt que de l'herbe, et toute ſa gloire eſt comme la fleur des champs : l'herbe ſèche, la fleur tombe ; mais, nouveau ſujet d'humiliation, nos miſeres, et notre corruption demeurent.

Pardon, mon cher Monſieur, je vous excède avec ces longs détails ; je le ſens, et je les termine : je n'en ai déjà que trop dit ; et je m'ennuye moi-même de parler toujours raiſon à des hommes ſans raiſon. Cher ami ! agreez, je vous ſupplie, mes très-humbles ſalutations et mon reſpect.

J. J. ROUSSEAU.

TRANSLATION.

TRANSLATION.

A Fourth Letter from J. J. Rousseau, to Mr. D.

IN addressing to you my fourth letter, I shall not trouble you with a long introduction. I resume, my dear friend, the mortifying history of the misery of man. I present to him a looking-glass, but he tarnishes it with his breath; and in a moment after, he no longer remembers what manner of being he is.

We begin our existence in cries and in tears: The first marks of life we give, are the marks of misery: And if we would speak the truth, upon seeing an infant open its feeble eyelids to the light, and shut them again in an instant, we should say, behold an unhappy being! and as if it foresaw, that it was entering into the society of Barbarians and Savages, its tears seem to demand that we should treat it with mildness. Poor little wretch! nature is thy only guide; she forewarns thee of danger; and soon shalt thou find, by thy own experience, that there was but too much reason for the premonitions she gave thee.

Scarce do we begin to lisp out the names, the tender names of father and mother, when they prepare for us

Punishments of every kind,
And books on every subject.

As we advance in years, our fears encrease; and these are soon followed by anxiety and uneasiness; till at last our heart becomes the victim of lust, and a prey to every passion: Monsters of every kind take entire possession of it, and govern it with an absolute and uncontrouled authority. Thenceforth dragged along by the whirlwind of passion, and alternately the stupid votary of effeminate delight, man knows no other rule of action than the gratification of his desires, and the enjoyment of his pleasures.

Wretched slave! with reluctance does he carry his chains, and yet is afraid to break them. Oppressed with the load of his miseries, he feels the weight of his irons: but why should I pity him? he pities not himself: he has not even the courage to break the fetters that bind him. In order, if possible, to blunt the edge of his anguish, he throws himself heedlessly into the midst of the croud; but vain effort! he finds nothing there but what he wanted to shun. Happy as he thinks himself in the enjoyment of earthly objects, he perceives not the disgrace of his slavish condition. Subjected to a yoke which he at once

A a 2

loves

loves and hates, he hugs the very cause of his tormenting pains.

Transported alternately by the fury of revenge, the impetuosity of anger, the allurements of pleasure, and the pruriency of lust; incessantly tormented by fear and by hope, by the weakness that makes him fall into the snare that is laid for him, and the remorse that gnaws his heart for having been so silly as to be caught; alike troubled by the blessings which he has not, and by those which he has; every thing attracts, but nothing can fix him; every thing pleases, but nothing can content him; his heart is a motly groupe of the most contradictory passions. Deprived of all his privileges, he no longer retains any thing of his original grandeur but the desire of being happy, and the mortification of knowing that he can never be so in the possession of the earthly objects, of which he is so fond. Such is the life of man, a flux and a reflux of inconsistencies and contradictions; and we are never really ourselves but when we descend into the still silence of the gloomy grave.

Let us pass then to death: alas! most men pass to it but too soon for themselves, and too late for others. Come hither, proud man! approach with all thy usual ostentation of pomp and magnificence: see what thou shalt be; a hideous spectre! and if thou hast never yet blushed, learn now to do it; for here nature shews thee thy real destiny. But let us remove, my dear friend, so mournful and mortifying a picture, of which I only give a rough unfinished sketch. All flesh is as grass, and all the glory thereof as the flower of the field: The grass withereth, and the flower dieth away: But behold a new subject of humility and abasement! our depravity and our miseries still remain,

Pardon me, my dear Sir, I fatigue you with this long detail. I am sensible of my error, and will therefore conclude. Indeed I have already said too much; and, in truth, I am heartily tired myself of thus always preaching up reason to men who are destitute of reason. Accept, I beseech you, my dear friend, my most humble and respectful compliments.

J. J. ROUSSEAU,

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.
AN OCCASIONAL EPILOGUE.

Written for a Company of Strolling Players at Hertford.

WHEN realms outrageous grow, and 'tis decreed
By mighty kings, that little men shall bleed,
Some pious reasons, such as Courts approve,
Preceding war, come canting from above,
Gravely complaining, how the wicked foe
Has broke a hedge, or robb'd a hill of snow :
Would criticks, falling foul on each poor play'r,
Before they strike the blow, their cause declare,
Perhaps sometimes th' impartial man might say,
The love of mischief at the bottom lay.

Unhappy he, with pining hunger prest,
And very little stomach for a jest,
Who, lack-a-day ! to please you eating folk,
With face all woe-begone, must cut a joke !
Who, when with tragic strides he's bid to go,
The buskin oft betrays the peeping toe !

One eve of late, as Pierre lay stretch'd at length,
And serious passion put forth all its strength,
The luckless lad scarce veil'd with decent care
What fans protected from the simpering fair.
Strange fate of human things ! that bitter woe,
Which melts all hearts, and makes all eyes to flow,
Should turn to farce from such a slight event,
A mutilated shirt, or breeches rent !

Speakers of all degrees have learnt to prize
Those glittering aids that dim enquiring eyes.
A patriot's pains for twenty years together
Are all to get a ribbon and a feather.
If thundering P*** could from the dead be rais'd,
In tatter'd garb like * this, would P*** be prais'd ?
But trick him off with coronet and ermine,
The creature's dumb indeed—but——*Lord*——it looks so
charming !

One

* Shewing his coat.

One precious part of heroes and of kings
 Consists in shining gems, and gilded strings.
 Then how should we exhibit, critic sirs,
 By words alone the *worth* of characters?
 Cou'd ye yourselves display, with proper spirit,
 Without a great man's coat, a great man's merit?
 'Tis not what strikes the mind in Roman story,
 That sets my Lord Duke all alive before ye.
 And yet we ask not, hope not to look fine;
 We only wish, with your good leave, to dine:
 Once let our backs be clad, and bellies full,
 You'll not be so severe, we not so dull.

TO the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R

Dublin.

As your undertaking is equally calculated for supporting the cause of loyalty and liberty, I doubt not but the spirit of the following little poem will secure it a place in your useful work, and render it acceptable to a free people. By inserting it as soon as possible, you will oblige many of your readers here, as well as your humble servant,

PRO PATRIA.

A POEM, by Mr. Alley. *Written on the return of the favourite bill for limiting the duration of Irish Parliaments.*

HOW long, Irene, widow'd of her rights,
 In hapless sorrow wept her days—her nights!
 Oft would she sit, like one whose heart-strings break,
 Forsook by those whom she could ne'er forsake;
 Her mantle rent; all-discomposed her hair;
 Down-cast her eyes; the picture of despair!
 Her harp, ere-while so tuneful, now unstrung
 As useless, was upon the willows hung!

At length, in pity of the fair-one's grief,
 All gracious heaven brought the wish'd relief.
 As on a rock she sat, that pierc'd the sky,
 Her wonted seat, and turn'd her tear-full eye

Toward

Toward those heights that bound the British isle;
A radiant cloud attention caught a while:
The coming cloud new glories still reveal'd,
Nor long from her, its sacred charge conceal'd.
Gently as evening sheds her balmy dews,
Descends it on the rock; and straight she views,
With admiration, an approaching fair,
Of graceful motion, and maternal air;
Of aspect form'd to please, and to command,
The truly beauteous blended with the grand!
An oaken sceptre did the female wield,
And LIBERTY was written on her shield.

She smil'd—she spake—O wherefore is't I see
My child estrang'd thus to felicity?
O! why the gloom that sits upon thy face,
And robs thy features of their native grace?
Why, from thy bosom's depth, ascends this groan?
Doth not a British GEORGE fill BRITAIN's throne?

Thou sacred form!—Ierne did reply—
Who beam'st the parent's love from either eye;
Whom, as a parent, I rejoice to serve;
To whom I'm bound; from whom I ne'er can swerve;
O! urge me not t' unlock my grief-fraught breast,
So long a stranger to the balm of rest!—
But—if I must unfold my pain, my shame!—
Freedom lives here in little more than name!
Its form alone exists in this poor land!
We ask its SUBSTANCE from our monarch's hand!
For this my heart bleeds! this is all my pain!
For this my sons have pray'd—I fear in vain!

BRITANNIA then.—Fame whisper'd in mine ear,
These doubts, Ierne, from thyself I hear.
I come to wipe these sorrows from thine eye,
And make thy doubts, like morning-mists, to fly.
Arise my child! again the cause pursue,
The cause so worthy of your sons and you!
A George, a British George, can ne'er deny
A cause, which Heav'n itself doth sanctify?
Sure as the dawn foretells the sun is near,
He'd give redress did he but rightly hear;
Sure as the sun for gen'ral good's design'd,
He reign's to prove a blessing to mankind!

These words, like some blest cordial, did impart
 A flow of vigour to her languid heart !
 She flies !—she calls her faithful sons around !
 Pursue, she cries, and with success be crown'd !
 Let LOYALTY again your pray'r renew,
 And freedom's son will freedom give to you !
 Their hope renew'd——Thought shew'd them now a
 friend,
 And Thought was just——she look'd upon TOWNSHEND.
 Their honest cause now reach'd the monarch's ear,
 And full redress did with a smile appear :
 Go, tell Ierne, tell her thus, said he,
 My reign is only o'er the truly free :
 Let slaves rule slaves—'tis not for England's King,
 But from his people's bliss, his bliss to bring.
 What bliss can Heav'n to patriot Kings decree,
 Like that of setting a whole nation free,
 Free from each vulture gnawing at her breast,
 Free from whatever erst destroyed her rest ?
 Such bliss (but less than saints enjoy above)
 Alone, can god like virtue ever prove !
This, bounteous Heav'n reserv'd, great George, for thee,
 To mark thy reign 'till time no more shall be :
 To give it, on truth's annals to be shewn,
 Above the greatest England yet has known !
 To give thy name to ev'ry future tongue,
 While man is man, with rapture to be sung.

13th February, 1768.

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW OF NEW BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, &c.

Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard the Third.
By Mr. Horace Walpole. 4to 5s. Doddsley.

THIS is a very learned and ingenious performance. The author has endeavoured, with equal ability and success, to overturn the generally received opinion concerning the cruelties, at least most of the cruelties, imputed to Richard III. and tho' he has not proved (and indeed he does not undertake to prove) that he was entirely innocent, he has yet shewn, that he was much less criminal than is commonly imagined. The supposed crimes of Richard III. he reduces to the following seven. 1. His murder of Edward Prince of Wales, son of Henry the Sixth. 2. His murder of Henry the Sixth. 3. The murder of his brother George Duke of Clarence. 4. The execution of Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan. 5. The execution of Lord Hastings. 6. The execution of Edward the Fifth, and his brother. 7. The murder of his own Queen: And from all these (except the 4th and 5th, which he acknowledges, and which he says, were perfectly agreeable to the barbarous manners of the age, and perhaps justifiable by that wicked code, state-necessity) he labours, and with great shew of reason, to vindicate Richard. With regard to King Edward the Fifth and his brother, he thinks neither of them were (as is commonly supposed) murdered by King Richard: on the contrary, he affirms, that young Edward either walked, or it was intended should walk, at the coronation of his uncle; and this opinion is founded upon a discovery lately made, namely that of the coronation roll of Richard III. which still, it seems, exists in the great wardrobe, and in which there is an express entry for *apparel and array to Lord Edward*, as he is there called, *son of the late King Edward the Fourth*. What became of him afterwards, Mr. Walpole does not take upon him to determine. He thinks he might have died a natural death in the Tower, especially as, by his mother's confession, he was of a very weak and tender constitution.

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With regard to his younger brother, the duke of York, Mr. Walpole attempts to prove, that he was the very individual Perkin Warbeck, who afterwards appeared in the reign of King Henry VII. and was put to death by that Prince, whom Mr. Walpole represents as by far a more barbarous and cruel tyrant than was Richard III. Mr. Walpole is not the first who broached this opinion. It was first started by Buck, and afterwards adopted by Carte; but as both these were party-writers, and laboured under the most incurable prejudices, little regard was paid to their sentiments. Mr. Walpole's principles, however, are far from being liable to any such objection. He appears, indeed, from the whole of his writings, to be a man of a most liberal and generous way of thinking, and never to have admitted into his political creed the ridiculous doctrine of divine, indefeasible, hereditary right. The investigation of truth (and of truths, it would seem, in the present case, rather curious than important) is the end of his labours; not the support of any party or system whatever.

False Delicacy: A Comedy, as it is performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane. By Hugh Kelly. 1s. 6d. Baldwin.

TIME was, when to write a play was considered as one of the greatest efforts of human genius: and with reason; for, to form a regular and well-connected plan, complete in all the essential ingredients of fable, of character, of moral, of sentiment, and of diction, and to execute it, from beginning to end, with equal spirit and propriety, requires such a compass of thought, such a strength of judgment, such a delicacy of taste, fertility of invention, and, withal, such an intimate acquaintance with men and with manners, as fall to the share only of those select few, the distinguished favourites of Apollo and the Muses. But now, every little scribbler, who can turn a period, or chop a sentence, thinks himself qualified for this once arduous, but now (as it is held) easy, trifling, and unimportant task. And the consequence is such as might naturally be expected. Instead of those bold, masterly, and animated performances, which adorned the stage in former periods, and which, while they commanded the applause of the severest critics, excited the admiration of the rest of the spectators, we are now entertained, or rather disgusted, with such dull, lifeless, and stupid compositions, as more resemble the ravings of a methodist preacher, than the genuine effusions of a truly inspired Poet; so that we should not be in the least surprised, to see our modern plays distinguished by the same epithet; with which

which sermons are sometimes wont to be branded, namely that of a *sleepy potion*. This petulant spirit, it must be owned, has invaded the province of Comedy, rather than that of Tragedy; and the reason is evident. Comedy is conversant about the affairs of common life, with which every one is, or supposes himself acquainted; and therefore every one thinks he is capable of writing a Comedy. But these poetasters would do well to consider, that though Comedy may appear the more easy part of the Drama, it is, in reality, by far the most difficult; and that its superior difficulty arises from the very circumstance, which, in their apprehension, constitutes its facility; for being conversant, as it is, about the affairs of common life, every one, of course, is a judge of its merit:

*Creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere
Sudoris minimum; sed habet Comœdia tanto
Plus oneris, quanto veniæ minus.*

These reflections naturally occurred to me on perusing the play, which is the subject of my present criticism; and which, though not very deficient in language and sentiment, is yet extremely faulty in fable, in moral, and in character; and, examined according to the rules of the Drama, can be considered, at best, but as a very flimsy and superficial performance.

The Good-Natured Man: A Comedy; as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. By Mr. Goldsmith. 1s. 6d. Griffin.

WHAT we have said of the preceding play, will apply, in a great measure, to the present Comedy: with this additional circumstance, that it is, if possible, more heavy and languid. No wonder the managers are obliged to fill half the house with *orders*, or to admit one half of the audience *gratis*, when they have nothing to present to them but such *No-entertainments*.

Amabella: A Poem. 4to. 6d. Robson.

THIS little poem, which is written by Mr. Jerminham, is not without merit; but is greatly inferior to some of that author's other compositions. No such quaint phrase, as that of *bosom'd calmness* for peace of mind, is to be found in the Nunnery or the Magdalens.

The Upholserer's Letter to the Right Hon. William Pitt, Esq; now Lord Chatham. 8vo. 6d. Newbery.

THIS writer recommends the erecting of *New-Boroughs*, and issuing out writs for them to chuse members of parliament, as also the encreating the number of members for counties and large towns, as one of the most effectual means of securing the independency of parliament; as it will then no longer be in the power of wicked ministers to influence such a numerous assembly. The scheme is plausible; but how far it may be practicable, the author judiciously leaves to be determined by wiser heads than his own.

On putting the Privy Seal into Commission. (See the Political Barometer in this Number.)

A Minister, who in this country is determined to do wrong, should not only be a man of abilities, but of uncommon courage. To invade the rights, or to insult the understanding of a nation, qualified to judge well, and privileged to speak freely upon public measures, requires a portion of audacity unacquainted with shame, or of power which knows no control. Whether it be owing to a hardy disposition, or to the conceit of unlimited power, or to mere solid ignorance I know not; but it is too apparent, that the present ministry in every thing they do or attempt to do, are determined to set the understanding and the spirit of the English people at defiance. In a succession of illegal or ——— acts, the instance of to-day ought at once to remind us of what they have done already, and to alarm us against what they may attempt hereafter. We have reason to thank God and the legislature, that some of the most flagitious of their enterprizes have been happily defeated. Their endeavour to establish a suspending power in the crown met with all the contempt it deserved; nor have they yet quite succeeded in emancipating the colonies from the authority of the British legislature. But when open and direct attacks upon the constitution have failed; a bad ministry will naturally have recourse to some more artful measures, by which the prerogative of the crown may be extended, and the purposes of arbitrary power answered as effectually, and more securely to themselves. When attempts of this insidious nature are made, it is the duty of every subject, be his situation what it may, to point out the danger to his countrymen, and warn them to guard against it. I shall take another opportunity to enquire into the legality of the appointment

pointment of a third s—y of st—: At present let me be permitted to call the attention of the public to a later and still more flagrant stretch of prerogative. A prostitution or corruption of old offices may be as fatal to the constitution, as the illegal creation of new ones. In the *Gazette* of Saturday se'nnight we are informed, that the Privy Seal is committed to the care of three persons, whose commission is to continue six weeks. From the names of these persons, we can collect nothing, but that two of them are of Scottish extraction, and that the third is recorder of St. Albans; but from their insignificance, and obscurity we may easily collect, that there is some particular design in fixing on such persons to execute one of the first offices of the state. Why the E— of C— should continue to hold an employment of this importance, while he is unable to perform the duties of it, is at least a curious question. But it is infinitely more material to enquire, why the interregnum is not committed to people of a higher rank and character.

The establishment of the several high offices of state forms a natural and constitutional check upon the prerogative of the c—n. No illegal or unconstitutional grant, charter, or patent of any kind can take effect from the mere motion of the sovereign, but must pass through a number of offices, in each of which it is the duty of the officer, if the case requires it, to remonstrate to the crown, as he himself is answerable for the consequences of any public instrument, which he has suffered to pass through his department. The delay of this progression has another good effect, in giving the subject time and opportunity to enter his protest against any sudden or inconsiderate grant, by which his own property or the welfare of the country in general may be effected, and to have the matter fairly discussed.

The precedence annexed to these high offices (exclusive of the importance of the several degrees of trust reposed in them) sufficiently proves that they ought to be confined to men of the first character and consequence. Men of that degree may safely be trusted, because they have a greater stake to hazard, and are answerable to the public with their lives and fortunes. The dignity of the lord privy seal's office (next in rank to the president of the council) would of itself be a sufficient reason for giving it to none but men of birth and character, and the great trust annexed to that dignity, is a farther reason for never committing such an office to any but men of the first rank and fortune. But in the choice of the present commissioners, there seems to be something particularly and singularly improper. When a caveat is entered against a grant from the c—n, and when a question of political and commercial importance is therefore to be discussed,

discussed, can there be a higher insult to the public, than to commit the determination of such a question to three persons very low in point of rank, and absolutely dependant in point of situation? Shall we not be justified in supposing that they are elected for no other quality but their insignificance? Whatever pretences may be alledged to the contrary, the public will have too much reason to suspect, that these worthy commissioners are taught their lesson, and that the job is too dirty to be imposed upon gentlemen of a higher station than a clerk in office. I cannot believe that these persons could have been chosen by the E— of Ch—. Whatever may be his faults, a man of spirit could no more lend his office than he could his mistress to the purposes of prostitution; much less would he descend to take either of them back again with a public mark of infamy upon them.

Now, Sir, let us suppose these three respectable persons seated upon their tribunal, with two judges of England by their side, and the first lawyers of this country pleading before them upon a question of the first importance to this country; the judges, I doubt not, will sit in silent wonder at the judicial abilities of these great men, and silent they must be, unless a point of law should arise, on which the triumvirate shall deign to ask their opinion; the lawyers will naturally exert their utmost efforts, when they consider that they have the honour to plead before three gentlemen of such profound knowledge, such distinguished rank, and such inflexible probity, that neither ignorance, nor ministerial influence, nor private corruption, can have any share in their decision.

I pity the unhappy Englishman, for he perhaps may blush for his situation.

[PUBLIC ADVERTISER, Feb. 16, 1768.]

Short Remarks on the Conduct of the present Administration.

*Fluctus uti primo cœpit cum albescere vento,
Paulatim sese tollit mare, & alius undas
Erigit, indo imo consurgit ad æthera fundo.*

S I R,

THE people of England are by nature somewhat phlegmatic. This complexional character is extremely striking, when contrasted with the suddenness and vivacity of many of our neighbours on the Continent. It even appears remarkable among the several kindred tribes, which compose the great mass of the British empire. The heat of the Welch, the impetuosity of the Irish, the acrimony of the Scotch, and the head-long violence of the Creolians, are national temperaments very different from that of the native genuine English.

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This slowness of feeling is in some respects inconvenient ; but on the whole view of life, it has, I think, the advantage clearly on its side. Our countrymen derive from thence a firmness, an uniformity, and a perseverance in their designs, which enables them to conquer the greatest difficulties, and to arrive at the ultimate point of perfection in almost every thing they undertake.

Their slowness to passion has also another advantage. No wise man will lightly venture to do them a real injury. Their anger is not suddenly kindled, nor easily extinguished ; it is dark and gloomy ; it is nourished to a gigantic size and vigour, under a silent meditation on their wrongs, until at last it arrives at such a mature and steady vehemence, as becomes terrible indeed. It was on a consideration of this kind of character, that a great poet says with a singular emphasis—" Beware the fury of a patient man."

It is surprising how much this character is exemplified in every part of our history. The long patience, amounting almost to tameness, with which the people of England have borne the outrages of evil ministers, has only been equalled by the irresistible force by which they attacked, and the unrelenting severity with which they finally punished the authors of their great grievances.

I wish with all my heart that our time may furnish no such examples : And yet I confess my fears are excited by appearances that are sufficiently alarming. The people of England have seen an administration formed, almost avowedly, under the direction of a dangerous, because private and unresponsible, influence ; and at the same time with an outward presidency of ministerial despotism, which, by its very nature, annihilated all public council. This they endured. They saw a course of the most scandalous and corrupt profusion of public money that ever was known in the kingdom, attended with such a neglect of every public duty, as if an experiment was intended to try how far the state could subsist by its own strength, without any of the usual aids of active government. The people of England bore this likewise.

They saw the very first opportunity laid hold on to revive the doctrines of a dispensing power, state necessity, arcana of government, and all that clumsy machinery of exploded prerogative, which it had cost our ancestors so much toil, and treasure, and blood, to break to pieces. This we suffered with our usual patience. They saw an attempt made to render all the monied property of the kingdom loose and insecure, and to turn our national funds from being supports of public credit into instruments

ments of ministerial power, and to take away that dependance upon law, which had been in all ages the great source of our domestic happiness, and that firm reliance upon public faith which has been the means of making us respectable to all the world. The Englishman still continued fallen and silent.

Those very circumstances, which strike terror into the heart of a wise man, are often such as inspire fools with confidence and presumption. Having had sufficient proof, as they thought, of the passive disposition of their fellow citizens, and at a loss for precedents of despotism of a modern date in any civilized country, they begun to ransack the stores of antiquated oppression, and ventured to perpetrate an act (by a singular composition) of such consummate audacity and meanness of spirit, as it might well be thought impossible to unite.

In subserviency to the odious influence under which they act, this administration dared—to an informer nearly allied to that very influence—at the time, and for the purposes of an election—refusing to hear counsel—not daring to take the opinion of the K—'s law servants—denying access to the records in their possession—to pass a grant of the estate of a noble and most respectable person, derived from a King, to whom we owe all our liberties; sixty-three years in undisputed possession, the subject of frequent settlements, and now actually a part of the jointure of the noble D———s.

The people of England at length began to break silence. They might indeed look upon the private wrong as a matter of inward meditation, and a further exercise of their patience. But the principle of this grant has given a **SHOCK TO THE WHOLE LANDED PROPERTY OF ENGLAND.**

Called upon by this practical menace to all landed property, and by many other detached grievances arising from the same absurd and tyrannical principal, *that no length of possession secures against a claim of the C———n*, one of the ablest, most virtuous, and most temperate men in the kingdom, supported by a steady band of uniform patriots, has made an attempt in a certain great assembly (without providing any remedy for this case of oppression) to secure the subject at least for the future against such wild and indefinite Claims.

Such was the spirit which manifested itself upon that occasion, that though for the present, after a glorious struggle they have failed, there is no sort of doubt, that the cry of reason, justice, policy, and the general feeling of the people, will shortly prevail.

[PUBLIC ADVERTISER, Feb. 24, 1768.]

DEPT. OF COM.
 ITALY
 ... L. LENZI AND
 ... PORTLANDS
 ... L.

Hercules Cleaning the Augean Stable.



The Figure on the Pedestal is the Symbol
Bribery, Corruption & Hypocrisy.

T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER

E X T R A O R D I N A R Y.

N U M B E R X I I .

To the Editor of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

I BEG you would relieve your reader from the dull treatise, and dry muster-roll of courtiers and patriots, which you have lately published, by re-printing the noblest piece of modern eloquence this country has produced. I mean the warm and pathetic harangue of the present Speaker, *Sir John Cusst*, the *Cicero* of parliament, when he pointed all his thunders, red with uncommon wrath, against the devoted heads of the poor, prostrate *Philip Ward*, late mayor of the city of *Oxford*, *John Treacher*, *Sir Thomas Munday*, *Thomas Wise*, *John Nicholes*, *John Philips*, *Isaac Lawrence*, *Richard Tattnaj*, *Thomas Robinson*, and *John Brown*, who were lately brought, for the high crime of bribery and corruption, to the bar, not only of the most uncorrupted, but the most incorruptible assembly in the whole world. You will immediately know, Sir, that I can only speak of the *Lower House* of our Parliament, and that I allude to those three additional

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white, classic pages to the *Votes*, which are called there *The Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons*.

The *Journals* scarcely ever gratify the public with any speeches, except two at the beginning of each parliament, when the new Speaker is proposed. They are always professed pannegyricks, and I will venture to promise every future Speaker, that all the virtues of *Onslow* himself he shall have in the *Journals*, although he has not from nature the strong abilities, nor from himself the wondrous accomplishments, of the excellent *Sir John Cust*. It was therefore, peculiarly obliging in this gentleman, to enrich our *Journals*, and our language, by yielding to the earnest entreaties of his worthy brother members, whose happy efforts to overcome such almost invincible modesty we can never enough applaud. We see their joint detestation of bribery and corruption, and the stigma of infamy is now affixed to such enormous guilt. If so baneful a weed is not quite rooted out, it is at least blasted by the *afflatus divinus* of our *Cicero*, and, like the accursed fig-tree, will droop and wither. No man for the future shall ever dare to sign a bargain for 1500l. to bring his son into parliament. Should even a future Speaker venture on this, I hope to see him on his knees, and that an orator equal to Sir John Cust, if nature is not exhausted by this last perfect production, will pronounce him expelled, and add those awful words, I DO REPRIMAND YOU.

This beautiful oration of Sir John Cust, I think, Sir, is not only striking in a general comprehensive view of it, but will likewise bear the nicest scrutiny. It is complete taken in the whole, and nicely finished in every minute part. It may be analysed to as much advantage as any thing in Tully. Although I feel that I am unequal to the task, I shall venture to attempt it, because it will be the occasion of my dwelling longer on a performance, which gives more pleasure, the more it is examined.

I shall

I shall first consider the oration itself, as branched out under the four general heads of

Exordium
Constitutio Causæ
Infectatio
Peroratio,

and then I shall examine the four other accessory circumstances of the

Personæ
Tempus
Locus
Eventus.

I begin with the *Exordium*. It is plain and simple, according to all the rules laid down by the antients. It contains only these words,

Philip Ward, John Treacher, Sir Thomas Munday, Thomas Wise, John Nicholes, John Philips, Isaac Lawrence, Richard Tawney, Thomas Robinson, John Brown.

No *Exordium* was ever built on so firm a foundation. It stands on the legal base of the baptismal register itself. I do not believe any thing happier could have been conceived, unless the great orator had taken Tully's own *exordium*, *pro Archia poëta*, *si quid est in me ingenii, quod sentio quam sit exiguum*, &c. but why are we to be charmed with any such false modesty in him, more than we are in his great model, Cicero?

I must confess, with all my partialities about me, that the *Constitutio Causæ* is not so clear and full as I could wish. In the oration, it is only said, *the offence of which you have been guilty, has justly brought you under the severe displeasure of this house*. The title is only *The Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons, when he reprimanded Philip Ward, &c. upon their knees, &c.* without saying for what crime. We are left to guess what it

could be, and I own when I read at the beginning, that a *MORE enormous crime they could not well commit*, I did not directly think of bribery and corruption. Although I was a little doubtful *what enormous crime a man might WELL commit*; yet when I heard, that a *MORE enormous crime they could not well commit*, I own I was afraid that they had been guilty of murder, perjury, rape, incest, sodomy, or some other crimes, whose guilt I should imagine to be of a shade of black darker and deeper than this of bribery and corruption. I was a little relieved, when I found that this was not the case, and that there was even somewhat of honesty in their proceeding; that they were endeavouring to pay off old debts, by trying to get before-hand a part of the money, which such country-puts falsely imagine their representatives afterwards make of them. I had heard too, that the price asked was considerably under the market price of boroughs; for, Sir, it can no longer be dissimbled, that a share of the British legislature has in our times been bought and sold as publicly as a share in the New River Company, or York Buildings water-works, or either of the Theatres. I admired, however, in all this, the noble enthusiastick zeal of Sir John Cust, and the *verba ardentia*, the bold glowing expressions, in which that zeal was shewn, *a more enormous crime you could not well commit*. Yet I believe, that not many gentlemen in England will be quite so severe upon them. Few of my countrymen would keep company with a murderer, a man perjured, &c. but I am apt to think, that before two months are past, we shall hear of some very respectable personages shaking by the hand, hobbing and nobbing, touching glasses, nay, perhaps, condescending even to cuckold these very *Philip Ward, John Treacher, Sir Thomas Munday, Thomas Wise, John Nicholes, John Philips, Isaac Lawrence, Richard Twuney, Thomas Robinson, and John Brown*. If I am rather uncharitable in the last article, Sir, I beg pardon, but it may be, because as to the nature

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ture of crimes, I do not hold this modern gallantry to be quite so enormous a sin as some others, and as it is in the eye of James Boswell, Esq; of Auchinleck, in Ayrshire. That primitive christian, that admirer of every thing opposite and contradictory, of Pascal Paoli, the true hero of liberty in his own country, and of pensioner Samuel Johnson, the old arch-enemy of it in our's, whom he wishes to bring together, for the fun, I suppose, of seeing them quarrel, like the two equally congenial spirits of Hume and Jean Jacques; that gentleman, as well as Sir John Cust, ventures on a new system of crimes. In the *account of Corsica*, page 217, he says, *better occasional murders than frequent adulteries*. Surely, Sir, never any but an Italian with the stiletto in his pocket, and a highlander with the dirk by his side, ever talked so lightly of murder. I therefore wonder at such an assertion from a gentleman, a man of humanity, and an *Englishman*, for so I call him, as he chose to be our countryman abroad, though not at home. "Upon my arrival, the captain of the guard came out, and demanded, who I was?" I replied, *Inglesi, English*," page 277. "When I told them that I was an *Englishman*," page 289. I hope Mr. Boswell did not advance such sentiments abroad as the sentiments of *Englishmen*.

This new-fangled system however, of crimes, and consequently of their punishment, broached by Sir John Cust, and James Boswell, Esq; is too deep a disquisition for the Political Register. It is not quite so humane as that of the great friend of man, the *Marquis Beccaria*, but whether *adultery* be worse than *murder*, or *bribery* worse than *murder* or *perjury*, I do not think proper questions for such a monthly publication as your's, Sir. As to my own difficulties, I have stated them with modesty,

to swear

In such a case I shou'd be loth——

But PERRY CUST may take his oath.

The GHOST. Book 4.

Two

Two little circumstances of the cause should be mentioned under this head. It appears by the *Votes*, that a private letter had been sent to Sir Thomas Stapleton, and another to Mr. Lee. Now our ingenious orator finds this not only a *dangerous*, but an *OPEN attempt to subvert the freedom and independency of this House*, and in the second place declares they have *set the infamous example of prostitution in the most PUBLIC as well as daring manner*—by writing a *private* letter to two former friends.

If a regard to truth, Sir, has obliged me to find the *Constitutio Causæ* rather deficient, I am glad the *Infestatio* can with justice be said to be complete. It is touched with wonderful force and spirit, though I am afraid it will be another proof, that the townsmen of Oxford have always hated the University, if they chose in every thing to act the quite opposite part. I beg to quote the whole sentence. “Many circumstances concur to aggravate your offence. The place of your residence was a singular advantage. You had *at all times* the example of one of the most learned and respectable bodies in Europe before your eyes. Their conduct *in every instance*, but especially in the choice of their representatives in parliament, was *well worthy your imitation*.” Now this is the true part of an orator, to advance bold, daring assertions, to support them with effrontery, and to leave cold, heavy, phlegmatic people afterwards to examine into the dry matter of fact. *At all times—in every instance—and well-worthy your imitation?* Let us then go to a few historical facts *in our own times*, since the accession of the house of Brunswick. I wish to know, if the overt acts of treason daily committed at Oxford, in 1715, did not force the government to send General Pepperel there, in the same military disposition, and with the same orders, he would have had in marching into Dunkirk. Was the conduct of Oxford *at that time*

time WELL worthy our imitation? I hope not, even in the opinion of Sir John Cuff, because, I suppose, than treason, *a more enormous crime a man cannot WELL commit.* If the conduct of Oxford was then *well worthy of imitation,* the conduct of George I. was to the highest degree cruel and oppressive; but the sober page of history gives the lie to such oratorical declamations, even of Sir John Cuff himself; and we now thank the memory of that great prince for so seasonable an interposition, so spirited an attack on Jacobitism in her strongest hold, her very citadel. When their chancellor, the Duke of Ormond, was attainted of high treason, was it *worthy of imitation,* that the University chose for his successor, a man equally disaffected, his own brother, the Earl of Arran? In the late reign, the conduct of the University, particularly of the vice-chancellor, in the affair of the students, who had publicly drank the Pretender's health *on their knees,* was so infamous, that the government could not wink at it. Even so mild a prince as George II. was at last forced to a severity painful to his nature, but which the public good rendered necessary, against the most inveterate enemies of his person and family. Was the conduct of Oxford then *worthy of imitation?* Methinks, Sir, I still hear the seditious shouts of applause given to the pestilent harangues of the late Dr. King, when he vilified our great deliverer, the Duke of Cumberland, and repeated with such energy the treasonable REDEAT. Was the conduct of the University, at the opening of the Ratcliffe library, by their behaviour to the known enemies of the Brunswick line, and their approbation of every thing, hatefull to Liberty and her friends, *worthy of imitation?* When I was told of *all times,* and *every instance,* in which Oxford has been exemplary in her conduct, I have been led to consider those two instruments of slavery, the *Oxford decree* in the reign of Charles II. and the *Recognition* at the ac-
cession

cession of Jamaica II., either of which is a repeal of *Magna Charta*; but I would not go so far back, and I have said enough, Sir, to convince you, that I more admire the art of the orator, and the heavenly fire of his eloquence, than the mere mechanic part, the faithfulness of a memory, which in him is not quite exact.

The *Peroratio* is alas! too short, but full of dignity, suited to the Majesty of the Commons of Great Britain. I DO REPRIMAND YOU. The little word *do* is very emphatical here. This is not a case where, as Pope says, *feeble explosives their aid do join*. How weak would the sense, and how poor the expression be, without it!

The last words, *you are discharged, paying your fees*, I fear will to many suggest an idea beneath the dignity of parliament, and may make the world imagine, that the *fees* were an illegal claim, not recoverable by action, and that therefore Mr. Speaker took the short way of keeping in custody till his own and the clerks *fees* were paid. But for my part, I believe that as an orator he talked of the *fees* to add to the terror of the sentence, and the weight of the punishment.

May I now venture to hint at a little omission in the Speech? There is not a word about *undue, unconstitutional influence* in elections, although it would so naturally have come in under the head of preserving the *freedom and independence of this house*. This too seemed the more necessary on so public an occasion, because an appeal had been made so lately to the world in the case of Mr. Legge's Hampshire election, against the Favourite himself, when all the Whigs, as usual, appeared against a Stuart, and were victorious. But perhaps we are as much to admire the wisdom and prudence of Sir John Cuff in what he has not said, as in what he has. In this case we should copy the famous Monsieur Omer Joly de Fleury, the Sir Fletcher Norton of the

the French King, who speaking of the late *pragmatic sanction* for the expulsion of the Jesuits, says, " that he admires the " reasons given by the King of Spain, and still more the reasons he has not given any man, but which are hid in his " royal breast." Yet, after all, I wish we had got one sentence only on this subject from Sir John Cusht, *because every thing must have the greatest weight, which falls from such a height.* Permit me, Sir, to use the fine imagery of the gentle, smooth, silver-tongu'd Conway, of all our generals confessedly *linguâ melior*—

Let us now, Sir, proceed to the other accessory circumstances, as they are called. The *Personæ* are plainly Mr. Speaker himself, in the chair speaking, the awful terrors of *Olympian Jove* sitting on his majestic brow, three hundred members laughing and listening, the poor culprits, mace and train bearers, &c. affecting to be grave and solemn, with looks of meek submission, downcast and low, fix'd on the floor, lest they should be burnt up by the flashes of fire from the indignant eyes of the *Speaker*, but they are all *mutæ personæ*, except Sir John Cusht himself, and therefore are beneath our further attention.

For the *Tempus*, there is something singular to be remarked. The letters, which contained the corrupt offer, are dated in the year 1766. One is of May 12, 1766. The first notice taken of them in the house, is January 26, 1768, and the *Reprimand* is February 10, 1768; yet we see in the votes, Venerii 5^o die Februarii, 1768, " Resolved, that this " house doth highly approve of the very *honourable* conduct of " the *honourable* Robert Lee, and Sir Thomas Stapleton, Bart. " on their receipt of the said letters." This is rather hard of digestion. Why did not those gentlemen, the first day of the sitting of the House, *after the receipt of the said letters*, make themselves a complaint to parliament? Why was it left to be done by another so long after, and without their privity or consent? No complaint is made till near two years after the transaction; and as perhaps the finances, no less than the consci-

ences of the honourable Robert Lee and Sir Thomas Stapleton, Bart. were found not to suit with the offer, it will, I fear, be suspected, that pique and disappointment seemed to have made them at last join in measures, which the *generous disdain* the Speaker mentions could not at first produce.

As for the *Locus*, Sir, it is the Chapel of St. Stephen, which formerly glowed with a holy zeal of religion, and afterwards with the bright flame of patriotism, while William Pulteney, and William Pitt—but their names fill my eyes with tears—virtue left them, and they the people. Dazzled with the lure of titles, places, and pensions, they fell into rank apostacy, and their names now only remain a terror to all who would dare such guilt, to meet so vain, so unsatisfactory a recompense, while the liberty of England shall find firm and undaunted guardians, to the latest ages, within these sacred walls.

As to the *Eventus*, it shall be told very short. An artful attorney, an accomplice in the guilt, drew his associates into the snare, and then left them. One of the most amiable, and excellent peers of this country, whose family have, for above a century, done very signal services to the city of Oxford, has by the treachery of those, who owe all to that bounty, and by the mean and artful contrivances of some ignoble persons of the first rank, lost his influence in a place, where honour is no longer regarded. As for the rest, *Philip Ward, John Treacher, Sir Thomas Munday, Thomas Wise, John Nicholes, John Philips, Isaac Lawrence, Richard Tawney, Thomas Robinson, and John Brown*, were discharged, paid their fees, went down to Oxford; and when they make any future libations on their knees, they will, I hope, although on the banks of *Ifs*, drink loyal healths. I am, Sir, your's, A. B.

We are much obliged to our ingenious correspondent A. B. We have re-printed the Speech in compliance with his desire, and we hope for the continuance of his favours, as he kindly promises us in the postscript, on every interesting political event. He may depend on all his pieces being given to the public exactly as he sends them to us, without the most minute alteration. If he will send to the publisher, a remarkable original paper shall be delivered to the person, who brings a note in the hand-writing of the above letter.

The Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons,

When he reprimanded *Philip Ward*, late Mayor of the City of Oxford; *John Treacher*, Sir *Thomas Munday*, *Thomas Wise*, *John Nicholes*, *John Philips*, *Isaac Lawrence*, *Richard Tawney*, all of the said City; *Thomas Robinson* and *John Brown*, late Bailiffs of the said City; upon their knees, at the Bar of the said House, upon *Wednesday* the Tenth Day of *February* 1768.

Philip Ward, *John Treacher*, Sir *Thomas Munday*, *Thomas Wise*, *John Nicholes*, *John Philips*, *Isaac Lawrence*, *Richard Tawney*, *Thomas Robinson*, *John Brown*;

THE offence of which you have been guilty has justly brought you under the severe displeasure of this house. A more enormous crime you could not well commit: since a deeper wound could not be given to the constitution itself, than by the open and dangerous attempt which you have made to subvert the freedom and independence of this house.

The freedom of this house is the freedom of this country, which can continue no longer than while the voices of the electors are uninfluenced by any base or venal motive. For if abilities and integrity are no recommendation to the electors; if those who bid highest for their voices are to obtain them from such detestable considerations; this house, will not be the representatives of the people of Great Britain. Instead of being the guardians and protectors of their liberties, instead of redressing the grievances of the subject, this house itself will be the author of the worst of grievances: they will become the venal instruments of power to reduce this happy nation, the envy and admiration of the world, to the lowest state of misery and servitude. This is the abject condition to which you have attempted to bring your fellow-subjects.

Many circumstances concur to aggravate your offence. The place of your residence was a singular advantage. You had at all times the example of one of the most learned and respectable bodies in Europe before your eyes. Their conduct in every instance, but especially in the choice of their representatives in parliament, was well worthy your imitation.

You are magistrates of a great city. In such a station, it was a duty peculiarly incumbent upon you to watch over the morals of your fellow-citizens ; to keep yourselves pure from venality ; and to prevent, by your influence, those under your government from being tainted by this growing and pestilential vice. How have you abused this trust ! You yourselves have set the infamous example of prostitution, in the most public and daring manner.

Surely you must have felt some remorse from the generous disdain with which your corrupt offer was rejected by your representatives. They thought, and justly thought, that a seat in this house, obtained by a free and independent choice of their constituents, was the highest honour to which a subject can aspire ; and that discharging their duty, as such representatives, was the noblest of services. Sorry I am to say, that these considerations do not appear to have had the least weight with you.

However, you have at last acknowledged your guilt ; and, by your petition yesterday, you seem conscious of the enormity of your offence. This house, in the terror of its judgments, always thinks upon mercy ; nor do they ever inflict punishment but for the sake of example, and to prevent others from becoming the objects of their resentment.

The censure passed upon you will, they hope, have that effect. You are now the objects of their mercy ; and are brought to the bar to be discharged.

May

May you be penetrated with a due sense of their justice and lenity ! May you atone for your past offence, by your constant endeavours to make a right use of the invaluable privileges which you enjoy as electors ! Consider these privileges as a sacred trust reposed in you. Discharge it with integrity.

But, before you rise from your present posture, I do, in obedience to the commands of this house, REPRIMAND you.

I am now to acquaint you, that you are discharged, paying your fees.

THE LORDS PROTEST.

Die Lunæ, 8 Feb. 1768.

Hodie 3^o vice lecta est billa—Intituled an Act for further regulating the Proceedings of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, with respect to the making of Dividends. The Question was put whether the said Bill shall pass, it was resolved in the affirmative.

Dissentient.

1st. **B**ECAUSE this bill is an exertion of the supreme power of parliament, equally unnecessary and dangerous, after having had the most mortifying experience of the operation of a like restriction last year, which encreased the very mischief it was intended to remedy, at a time when the circumstances of the company are clear beyond a doubt, and their opulence verified beyond the most sanguine expectation : no supposed misconduct of the company calling for the interposition of parliament ; no rash and excessive dividends declared ; no encrease of dividends even desired : on the contrary, the company have restrained itself on principles much more rational than those adopted by the bill, as they have a reference to their circumstances, and not to a fixed period of time, marked by an arbitrary resolution. We cannot therefore avoid considering this bill as a mere act of power, without a colour of

delinquency on the part of the company, or of necessity on the part of the public.

2dly, Because it appears to us, that this bill is an high violation of the national faith, taking away, without any judicial process, or even any criminal charge, that power of declaring dividends, which the company purchased from the public for a valuable consideration.

3dly, Because it appears to us altogether unaccountable to pass in one year an act for regulating the modes and conditions of declaring dividends by the company; and, in the very next year, to prohibit the exercise of those very powers so regulated: this act is now in full force; no defect in it has been stated; no amendment has been proposed; no infraction has been pretended. This law, made expressly to regulate the method of declaring dividends, does of necessity imply the exercise of that right under the conditions therein prescribed, which cannot be taken from the E. I. Company, without the most signal disgrace to the wisdom and good faith of the legislature, and the subversion of every principle of legal government.

4thly, Because it appears to us, that to restrain the subject in the disposition of his own property, without any other pretence than the mere *possibility* of abuse, (this bill having been chiefly defended upon that ground) is a principle unheard-of in any free country, and most alarming to all the trading and monied interests of this kingdom; it goes to the subjecting, to the same restraint, on the same loose reasons, every great company, as well as every public or private stock, which may become of magnitude sufficient to tempt, in future times, an impoverished treasury, and a rapacious administration, since no degree of innocence can be a security against such suspicion of a *possible* fraud; and such a suspicion may be made a ground for continuing an arbitrary restraint, until the subject shall consent to ransom his property on such terms as shall be prescribed to him.

5thly, Because this annual restraint tends to establish a per-

petual interposition of parliament, in declaring dividends for this company, and indeed all companies whatsoever, to the encrease of that most dangerous and infamous part of stock-jobbing, which is carried on by clandestine intelligence, and to the vesting it in the worst of all hands, those of administration; for a minister, who shall hereafter acquire in parliament (by whatever means) sufficient influence for the purpose, may, by his power of encreasing, diminishing, or withholding dividends at his pleasure, have all the stock-holders in these companies (a body extremely considerable for wealth and numbers) entirely at his mercy, and probably at his disposal, to the infinite encrease of the already overgrown, and almost irresistible influence of the crown.

6thly, Because we apprehend, that this unprecedented practice of declaring dividends in parliament, may become a more alarming mode of undue influence on the members themselves, than any of those which have hitherto so frequently excited the jealousy of the legislature, since it furnishes a fund of corruption far greater than any hitherto known; a fund in its nature inexhaustible, of the greatest facility in the application, and quite out of the reach of all discovery and prosecution. We think the principle of this bill the first step towards the introduction of such a new system of corruption, and have therefore resisted it, lest the constitution should become totally perverted from the ends for which it was originally established, and be no longer venerated by this nation, as giving security to liberty and property, and protection to the subject from all violence and injustice on the part of government.

Richmond,	Temple,
King,	Fred. Exon,
Portland,	Winchelsea and Nottingham,
Rockingham,	Dartmouth,
Monson,	Ponsonby.
Lyttleton.	

To the Editor of the POLITICAL REGISTER:

S I R,

THE following is a true copy of two extraordinary papers, which have lately been circulated, and is at your service.

WHEREAS his MAJESTY, by his Letters Patent dated at *Westminster*, the 28th Day of December last * past, hath been pleased to Grant unto ME Sir *James Lowther* of *Lowther*, in the County of *Westmoreland*, Baronet. All that Forrest called the Forrest of *Inglewood*, with the Rights, Members, and Appurtenances thereof, in the County of *Cumberland*, and all Manors, Lordships, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments thereto belonging, and All those Courts, called the *Capital Forrest Court* of *Inglewood*, and Forrest Court, and all Courts *Leet*, Court *Baron*, and all other Courts and Services within the Forest of *Inglewood*, with the Office of *Steward*, *Bailiff*, and other Offices, and all Fines, Rents, Mines, Rights, Royalties, Jurisdiction Fees, Perquisites, and Profits thereto belonging. And also all that Manor of the Socage of the Castle of *Carlisle*, with all and Singular, the Rights, Members, and Appurtenances thereof, lying and being in the said County of *Cumberland*, and all Rents, Quit-Rents, Rents of Assize, Free-Rents, Copyhold and Customary Rents, and other Rents whatsoever, to the said Manor belonging, and also several Closes, Fields, Pieces or Parcels of Arable Lands, Waste Ground and Meadow, or Pasture Ground, with the Appurtenances Parcel of, and belonging to the said Manor.

THIS is to give Public Notice thereof, and Warning to all Tenants of, and Resiants within the said Forrest and Manor, and to all Farmers, and Occupiers of any Lands, and Tenements, Parcel of the said Possession, that they do not Pay any Rent or Fines, to any Person or Persons whatsoever, not legally authorized to receive the same, by the said Sir *James Lowther*, or do, or perform any Suit, Custom, or Service, at any Court held otherwise than by Virtue of, and under the Authority of the said Letters Patent, and Grant, as they will answer the Contrary at their own Peril, and make themselves liable to Pay the same over again.

JAMES LOWTHER.

LONDON, 30th JANUARY, 1768.

“ **W**HEREAS the Lords of the TREASURY, have
 “ thought proper to Grant, unto Sir *James Lowther*,
 “ a LEASE of the CROWN’S SUPPOSED INTEREST, in the
 “ FOREST of INGLEWOOD, in the County of CUMBERLAND;
 “ and the MANOR of the SOCAGE of the CASTLE of CAR-
 “ LISLE, with their respective Appurtenances. AND
 “ WHEREAS the said Sir *James Lowther* has given No-
 “ tice and Warning, to all TENANTS of, and RESIANTS
 “ within the said FOREST, and MANOR; and to all
 “ FARMERS, and OCCUPIERS, of any LANDS, and TENE-
 “ MENTS, Parcel of the said Possessions, that they do not Pay
 “ any RENTS, or FINES, to any Person or Persons whatsoever,
 “ not legally authorized to receive the same by him; or do, or
 “ perform, any SUIT, CUSTOM, or SERVICE, at any COURT,
 “ held otherwise than by Virtue of, and under the Authority
 “ of the said LEASE; as they will answer the contrary at
 “ their own Peril, and make themselves liable to Pay the same
 “ over again.”

I THEREFORE think it necessary to inform all such TENANTS,
 and other PERSONS above mentioned, THAT I DO NOT AC-
 QUIESCE under such LEASE, or RELINQUISH my RIGHT to,
 and POSSESSION of, the FOREST, MANOR, or LANDS, above de-
 scribed: AND I FURTHER think it my Duty, as their FRIEND,
 to remind them, that my Claim is FOUNDED ON a GRANT
 MADE in the last CENTURY, by KING *WILLIAM* the THIRD,
 to my GREAT GRAND FATHER, and his HEIRS for EVER,
 AND CONFIRMED by an UNINTERRUPTED Possession of more
 than SIXTY YEARS; AND THEREFORE I advise them, to Pay
 no REGARD to the said NOTICE, and assure them, that in Con-
 sequence of their so doing, neither their PERSONS nor PROPER-
 TIES, can or shall be affected; as I am determined to defend
 their RIGHTS, and my OWN.

PORTLAND.

To the Editor of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

THE following paper, containing a List of the One Hundred and Fourteen gentlemen who voted for the Bill of Quiet, will doubtless be acceptable to your readers,

Your's, &c.

Question,

February 17, 1768.

FOR leave to bring in a bill for quieting the possessions of the subject, and for amending and rendering more effectual an act of the 21st of James I. entitled an Act for the General Quiet of the Subject, against all Pretences of Concealment whatsoever;

Moved by Sir George Saville, bart.

Seconded by Sir Anthony Tho. Abdy, bart.

Anson, Thomas	_____	_____	Litchfield
Abdy, Sir Anthony Thomas, bart.	_____	_____	Knaresborough
Adams, George	_____	_____	Saltash
A'Court, Lieut. Gen. William	_____	_____	Heytisbury
Aislaby, William	_____	_____	Rippon
Archer, Hon. Andrew	_____	_____	Coventry
Aufrere, George	_____	_____	Stamford
Bentick, Lord Edward	_____	_____	Lewes
Bentinck, Captain John	_____	_____	Rye
Bertie, Peregrine	_____	_____	Westbury
Barrow, Charles	_____	_____	Gloucester
Beauclerk, Hon. Aubrey	_____	_____	Thetford
Burdett, Sir Robert, bart.	_____	_____	Tamworth
Bromley, William	_____	_____	Warwickshire
Baker, Sir William	_____	_____	Plympton
Burt, William Matthew	_____	_____	Great Marlow
Burke, Edmund	_____	_____	Wendover
Burke, William	_____	_____	Bedwin
Bootle, Richard Wilbraham	_____	_____	Chester
Cave, Sir Thomas, bart.	_____	_____	Leicestershire
Cavendish, Lord George	_____	_____	Derbyshire
Cavendish, Lord Frederick	_____	_____	Derby
Cavendish, Lord John	_____	_____	Knaresborough
Cavendish, Richard	_____	_____	Wendover
			Cocks,

Cocks, Charles	_____	_____	Ryegate
Coke, Wenman	_____	_____	Oakhampton
Codrington, Sir William, bart.	_____	_____	Tewksbury
Cholmondeley, Thomas	_____	_____	Cheshire
Cholmley, Nathaniel	_____	_____	Aldborough
Carnac, General	_____	_____	Leominster
Cornwall, Velters	_____	_____	Herefordshire
Cotton, Sir John Hynde, bart.	_____	_____	Cambridgeshire
Curzon, Asheton	_____	_____	Clitheroe
Curwen, Henry	_____	_____	Carlisle
Craven, Thomas	_____	_____	Berkshire
Clive, Richard	_____	_____	Montgomery
Darker, John	_____	_____	Leicester
Deleval, George, Shaftoe.	_____	_____	Northumberland
Dempster, George	_____	_____	Forfar, &c.
Downe, Lord Viscount	_____	_____	Cirencester
Dummer, Thomas	_____	_____	Newport
Dolben, Sir William, bart.	_____	_____	Oxford University
Finch, Savile	_____	_____	Malton
Foley, Thomas, jun.	_____	_____	Herefordshire
Frankland, Sir Thomas, bart. Admiral	_____	_____	Thirsk
Fuller, Richard	_____	_____	Steving
Gascoign, Bamber	_____	_____	Midhurst
Grey, Lord	_____	_____	Staffordshire
Garth, Charles	_____	_____	Devizes
Grenville, Right Hon. George	_____	_____	Buckingham
Grenville, James, junior	_____	_____	Thirsk
Grosvenor, Thomas	_____	_____	Chester
Hamilton, William Gerrard	_____	_____	Pontefract
Hardy, Sir Charles	_____	_____	Rocheſter
Hanbury, John	_____	_____	Monmouthſhire
Harley, Hon. Robert	_____	_____	Droitwich
Harris, James	_____	_____	Chriſtchurch
Heathcote, Sir Gilbert, bart.	_____	_____	Shaftſbury
Hervey, Hon. Auguſtus	_____	_____	Saltaſh
Hervey, Hon. William	_____	_____	St. Edmondſbury
Hewet, John	_____	_____	Nottinghamſhire
Hotham, Col. Charles	_____	_____	St. Ives
Honeywood, Philip, General	_____	_____	Appleby
Howard, Thomas	_____	_____	Caſtlering
Hunter, Thomas Orby	_____	_____	Wincheſlea
Irwin, John, Major General	_____	_____	Eaſt Grinſtead
Keck, Anthony James	_____	_____	Leiceſter
Keppel, Hon. Auguſtus, Admiral	_____	_____	Windfor
Ladbroke, Sir Robert	_____	_____	London

Lascelles, Edwin .	_____	_____	_____	Yorkshire
Lascelles, Daniel	_____	_____	_____	Northallerton
Lascelles, Edward	_____	_____	_____	ditto
Lawrence, William	_____	_____	_____	Rippon
Legh, Peter	_____	_____	_____	Newton
Lenox, Lord George	_____	_____	_____	Sussex
Long, Sir James, bart.	_____	_____	_____	Marlborough
Luther, John	_____	_____	_____	Essex
Meredith, Sir William, bart.	_____	_____	_____	Liverpool
Mills, Richard	_____	_____	_____	Canterbury
Molesworth, Sir John, bart.	_____	_____	_____	Cornwall
Manners, Lord Robert	_____	_____	_____	Kingston
Morgan, Thomas, jun.	_____	_____	_____	Monmouthshire
Morgan, Charles	_____	_____	_____	Brecon
Murray, James	_____	_____	_____	Wigtownshire
Nedigate, Sir Roger, bart.	_____	_____	_____	Oxford University
Norris, John	_____	_____	_____	Rye
Offley, John	_____	_____	_____	Oxford
Osbaldeston, Fountayne	_____	_____	_____	Scarborough
Orwell, Lord	_____	_____	_____	Ipswich
Palmer, Sir John, bart.	_____	_____	_____	Leicestershire
Palmerston, Lord Viscount	_____	_____	_____	East Loos
Parker, John	_____	_____	_____	Devonshire
Pitt, Hon. Thomas	_____	_____	_____	Wareham
Prescott, George	_____	_____	_____	Stockbridge
Ridley, Matthew	_____	_____	_____	Newcastle
Rushout, John	_____	_____	_____	Evesham
Sackville, Lord George	_____	_____	_____	Hythe
Seymour, Henry	_____	_____	_____	Totness
Savile, Sir George, bart.	_____	_____	_____	Yorkshire
Scawen, James	_____	_____	_____	St. Michael
Shiffner, Henry	_____	_____	_____	Minchhead
Smith, Sir Jarret, bart.	_____	_____	_____	Bristol
Tudway, Clement	_____	_____	_____	Wells
Vanfittart, Arthur	_____	_____	_____	Berkshire
Weddell, William	_____	_____	_____	Kingston upon Hull
Way, Benjamin	_____	_____	_____	Bridport
West, James	_____	_____	_____	St. Alban's
West, James, jun.	_____	_____	_____	Boroughbridge
White, John	_____	_____	_____	Retford
Winterton, Earl	_____	_____	_____	Bramber
Whateley, Thomas	_____	_____	_____	Luggerhall
Walsh, John	_____	_____	_____	Worcester
Yorke, Hon. Charles	_____	_____	_____	Ryegate
Yorke, Hon. John	_____	_____	_____	Higham Ferrers.
Tellers,	Sir George Armitage, bart.			
	Frederick Montagu, Esq;			

The following voted against the Bill.

Allen, Lord Viscount	_____	_____	Eye
Ashburnham, William	_____	_____	Hastings
Barrington, Lord Viscount	_____	_____	Plymouth
Barre, Isaac	_____	_____	Wycombe
Beauchamp, Lord	_____	_____	Leithwithel
Beckford, William	_____	_____	London
Bertie, Lord Robert	_____	_____	Boston
Best, Thomas	_____	_____	Canterbury
Boscawen, Hon. George	_____	_____	Truro
Boscawen, Hon. Edward-Hugh	_____	_____	ditto
Bradshaw, Thomas	_____	_____	Harwich
Bridgeman, Sir Henry, bart.	_____	_____	Ludlow
Brudenell, Hon. James	_____	_____	Hastings
Brudenell, Robert	_____	_____	Marlborough
Brudenell, George Bridges	_____	_____	Stamford
Bull, Richard	_____	_____	Newport
Buller, John	_____	_____	Eastlooe
Burgherth, Lord	_____	_____	Lyme Regis
Burrell, Peter	_____	_____	Launceston
Calcraft, John	_____	_____	Canne
Calcraft, Thomas	_____	_____	Pool
Campbell, Pryse	_____	_____	Nairn, &c.
Clare, Lord Viscount	_____	_____	Bristol
Conway, Right Hon. H. S.	_____	_____	Thetford
Corke, George	_____	_____	Middlesex
Cowper, Grey	_____	_____	Rocheester
Coutts, James	_____	_____	Edinburgh
Crauford, Patrick	_____	_____	Renfrewshire
Dahrymple, Sir Hew, bart.	_____	_____	Dunbar, &c.
Delaval, Sir John Hussey, bart.	_____	_____	Berwick
Drummond, Adam	_____	_____	Lymington
Duncomb, Thomas	_____	_____	Newport
Dyson, Jeremiah	_____	_____	Yarmouth
Earle, William Rawlinson	_____	_____	Newport
Edmondstone, Archibald	_____	_____	Dumbarton
Eliot, Sir Gilbert, bart.	_____	_____	Roxburghshire
Ellis, Wellbore	_____	_____	Aylesbury
Fanfhaw, Simon	_____	_____	Grampound
Fitzroy, Colonel Charles	_____	_____	Bury
Frederick, Sir Charles	_____	_____	Queenborough
Fuller, Rose	_____	_____	Maidstone
Gage, Lord Viscount	_____	_____	Seaford
Gilbert, Thomas	_____	_____	Newcastle
Gordon, Lord Adam	_____	_____	Aberdeenshire

Hope-Weir, Hon. Charles	Linlithgowshire
Herbert, Edward	Ludlow
Hopkins, Richard	Dartmouth
Howe, Lord Viscount	ditto
Howe, Hon. William	Nottingham
Huske, John	Malden
Jenkinson, Charles	Appleby
Jenyns, Soame	Cambridge
Jennings, George	Whitchurch
Lamb, Sir Matthew, bart.	Peterborough
Mackay, Alexander	Sutherlandshire
Mackenzie, Right Hon. James Stuart	Rossshire
Mount Stuart, Lord	Bossiney
Medlycott, T. Hutchings	Milbourne
Montgomery, Archibald	Air County
Myddleton, Richard	Denbigh
North, Lord	Banbury
Paterfon, John	Luggerthal
Peachy, Sir James, bart.	Seaford
Pelham, Right Hon. Thomas	Suffex
Percy, Earl	Westminster
Philipson, Richard	Eye
Pryfe, John Pugh	Cardiganshire
Reynolds, Francis	Lancaster
Rigby, Right Hon. Richard	Tavistock
Robinson, Hon. Thomas	Christchurch
Rodney, Sir George Brydges, bart.	Penryn
Ryder, Nathaniel	Tiverton
Scott, John	Tain, &c.
Scudamore, Charles	Hereford
Sebright, Sir John bart.	Bath
Selwyn, George	Gloucester
Sewel, Right Hon. Thomas	Winchelsea
Shelley, Right Hon. John	Retford
Stanley, Right Hon. Hans	Southampton
Staunton, Thomas	Ipswich
Thurlow, Edward	Tamworth
Touchet, Samuel	Shaftsbury
Townshend, Charles	Yarmouth
Townshend, Right Hon. Thomas	Whitchurch
Vane, Frederick	Durham
Villiers, Lord	Aldborough
Upton, John	Westmoreland
Wauchope, Henry	Buteshire
Warren, Sir George	Lancaster
Wood, Robert	Brackley
Wynne, Sir John	Carnarvon

Cum multis aliis.

This List is not complete. Such as have the good luck to be forgot, may think themselves very happy ! The total number of those who refused to assist their fellow-subjects, to secure their property, was *one hundred and thirty-four !*

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

A short Retrospect of the Conduct of the last Parliament ; and a Test proposed for the Members of the next.

THE time is now come when the People are acknowledged to be the Fountain of Power, and the Constitution of this happy country reverts once more to its First Principles. Addresses to the people, therefore, are now most seasonable, and it is a proof of your wishes to contribute to their welfare, that, on the day the nation is delivered from the disgrace of an inconsistent, cringing, and corrupt representation, you have furnished a vehicle for conveying just information to the people. I shall not now pretend to draw a character of the last parliament. Their own journals are indeed the severest satire upon them ; and to damn them to everlasting infamy, you need only preface every Session with a list of the administration for the time being, a few honourable gentlemen excepted. It was, I think, the general and established rule to vote with the Treasury Bench ; and as those who sat there, were frequently changed in these last seven years, the resolutions of the House became as various and contradictory. No peace, that shall leave the two branches of the house of Bourbon united ! says one minister : war everlasting ! echoed the worthy representatives of the people. Peace on any terms ! says the favourite minister : we are an undone bankrupt nation ! cried the house. Cyder ought to be taxed ! declared the same genius : double tax cyder by all means ! answered the parliament. It was a damned thing to tax cyder ! exclaims the next dictator : aye, damn the cyder taxers, and all their friends ! replied the commons of G. B. America should pay her proportion of her own expences ; says the great finance minister : nothing so reasonable ! cries parliament ; we won't hear a word against it ; stamp the dogs if they refuse to pay. America pays too much already, is too beneficial to this country, by dealing with *it only*, take off their taxes, and allow them to trade to other nations ; were the opinions of the next in order : repeal, repeal, no taxes, no duties ! and free ports for America ! resounded through St. Stephen's chapel, during the whole Session.

It

It would be endless to recapitulate all the instances of the most shameless servility, and want of principle, in the wretched tools we have just got rid of. I hope we shall never see their like again; and in that hope consign them to your friend Mr. Wilkes, to be hung up in his history, in perpetual memorial of the perversion so excellent an institution is capable of; and when he records the minister's boast of having united all parties, let him subjoin this note, viz. by destroying all principle, and making them all alike R—als.

That those, who shall now be chosen, may give some assurance to their electors of their principles, I would recommend the following test, to be offered to every candidate on the day of election.

I do declare, that I will maintain, to the utmost of my power, the entire legislative authority of the parliament of Great Britain over her colonies.

That I will vote against all augmentations of the civil list, unless a true list of the pensions, with the pensioners' names be first printed.

That I will propose or support a bill for limiting the house of Peers to its present number, that some men of property and independence may be left among the commons. That I will endeavour to procure relief to the people in general, by promoting the reduction of the taxes upon soap, candles, leather, and beer. That I will promote an enquiry into the conduct of the several administrations during the last seven years, and the causes of the late frequent changes; and particularly a strict scrutiny into the secret influence of the Favourite, whose pernicious counsels, and wicked practices, have brought us into our present state of poverty and anarchy. For, as he is supposed to be the real, though concealed author of all our misfortunes, an enquiry into his conduct is the more necessary, in order, that if he is innocent, he may no longer bear the odium of such atrocious crimes; and if guilty, he may be speedily brought to condign punishment.

These, and such other points, as the particular circumstances of every set of electors may suggest to them, if they were thrown into a declaration, to be solemnly made by the candidates, in the face of their constituents, might prove some check on their future conduct, and parliaments might again become respectable. The minister would then find it necessary to act in conformity to the sentiments of parliament, instead of making use of that august assembly, only to give a sanction to his measures.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT was the custom of a very wise nation, as soon as their king was dead, to appoint a day for his trial.

Public notice was given of the same, and all who thought themselves aggrieved were invited to prefer their complaints. All the transactions of the past reign were rehearsed; and, after a free and impartial inquiry, the reputation of the dead king was either acquitted or condemned by a solemn and formal judgment.

This method of proceeding, so wisely imagined for the instruction and restraint of succeeding princes, would, with double propriety, be applied by the people of England to their departed House of Commons.

The individuals of which, though the body is dead by the law, may yet have a new parliamentary life bestowed upon them by the grace and favour of their creators: and may then reap benefit and instruction even from their own faults, as well as from those of others; and be warned by such a formal trial and recapitulation to prepare for the next day of judgment, which they know must shortly come. The natural term of their sitting is about six years; and though some are so lucky that they reach to seven years; yet is their life *then* but labour and sorrow, so soon passeth it away, and they are dissolved.

The custom I have mentioned is pretty generally known, and so universally approved, that I have heard it commended by persons of all parties.

How it will be when applied to themselves I can readily foresee; but that shall not hinder me from giving this public notice, that I mean to endeavour to establish this method for the future; and that the trial of the late House of Commons will come on in this and the succeeding numbers of the Political Register.

Complaints and intelligence of all sorts, directed for the publisher, will be received and duly discussed.

N. B. The *speeches* and *behaviour* of these, whether malefactors or benefactors, will alone be regarded; their *parentage* and *education* will be left quite out of the question.

The Ordinary. A. E.

For

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

REGULUS; or a *View of the present State of public Affairs: with certain Proposals, addressed to the independent Electors of Great-Britain.*

O-navis! referent in mare te novi

Fluctus. O quid agis? Fortiter occupa

Portum.

HOR.

My good Countrymen,

PERHAPS you are not all sufficiently apprized of the present critical state of public affairs. It is my design to inform you of some particulars, which it highly imports you rightly to understand; and to propose to your consideration, whether there is not, at this time, somewhat in your power, of consequence towards the redress of such disorders, as may, if neglected, prove fatal.

It is commonly alledged by those, who think themselves interested in opposing the faithful monitors of a thoughtless people, "that, in every free state, men of anxious tempers, from honest views, and men of ambition, from indirect designs, have, at times, given alarms of approaching dangers, which have, in the event, proved false, or at least premature. That, therefore, such warnings are to be listened to with prudent allowances for the mistakes, or voluntary misrepresentations of complainers; and that national disorders often prove their own remedy, &c."

But have not the alarms, from time to time given by thinking men of our own country, been but too well grounded? Were not the fears of our ancestors from the encroachments of a tyrannical Stuart race, but too just? Was not the state in danger under the Harleys and the Bolingbrokes? Do we not to this day justly execrate the infamous peace of Utrecht? The system of corruption woven into every department of government by W—le; does it not now spread its fatal effects? Are not the horrible wastes of the public treasure in continental wars; are not the encrease of the number of peers, places, and

pensions, evils of the most destructive tendency? These are some of the grievances which have long been complained of, and which some have affected to slight, because long complained of.

Will any one pretend that the *continuance*, nay, the *enhancement* of these evils is of no dangerous consequence?

Is it then of no consequence *how far* corruption and venality prevail? how great the number and undue influence of the *grandees*? how much the national debt may be increased? what taxes are laid on our exports, and how much they are loaded, and consequently how their sale is checked at foreign markets? If all history be not fiction, there is, my good countrymen, a limit beyond which public disorders cannot go, without bringing ruin on the state. Suppose, only for a moment, the following single misfortune to happen, which I devoutly pray Heaven to avert: suppose, by a deficiency in the income arising from the customs, half a million of the yearly revenue should fall short, and the proprietors of the public stocks should be disappointed of an eighth part of what comes to be annually due to them. What would be the consequence, but the immediate demolition of public *credit*, the ruin of innumerable families, universal desperation, civil war, revolution, and, perhaps, conquest by France, and slavery? But, if you do not already know it, I now tell you, that *trade* * is *sinking*, and will fall lower, if very effectual means be not used to prevent it. The diminution of trade will produce a deficiency in the revenue. And, if the public income falls short, the public creditors must be losers. The very idea of the possibility of this chills my blood; though I hope we are in no immediate danger of such an evil: but this is only one danger among many.

There is no denying, that the *present* times are more peculiarly critical, than most of the past.

* The woollen trade, the *staple* of the nation, and the silk manufacture, to mention no others, never were at so low an ebb, since they were brought to perfection.

The public debt was never before so enormously great ; nor was there ever before so much danger of a deficiency of the funds from whence the interest must arise, occasioned by the precarious state of commerce and manufactures ; which is owing to our not being able to furnish foreign markets on equal terms with our rivals, who live and work cheaper than we.

Were the public free from *debt*, the state of commerce would be of less consequence. Its partial failure would, at worst, only retard a little the growth of our merchants' estates. But, plunged as we are, what have we not to fear, if there should happen a *deficiency* of the funds for paying the interest ?

The alienation of the affections of our colonies from us,* is an evil altogether *new*, and peculiar to the present times. It is a distress most particularly unseasonable, when we have occasion for all the *ways* and *means* in our power.

Venality and corruption never were so barefaced ; nor was ever public spirit at so low an ebb. People, in high stations, are not now ashamed to be thought totally indifferent about the public interest. Patriotism is openly ridiculed ; and to be the notorious plunderers of our country, is no longer a matter of disgrace, though our country could never before so ill afford to be robbed.

The number of peers, places, and pensions, never was so great ; nor a tendency to aristocracy, from the influence of the grandees, so apparent ; of which, and other matters of a like kind, more will be said in the sequel.

How long is that state likely to subsist, which has in *itself* no foundation established on public *virtue*, and a crafty *foreign* enemy † undermining it ? Even a band of robbers must,
if

* See Dr. Franklin's *Examination before the House of Commons*, and *London Chronicle* of January 5 to 7, 1768.

† It has been observed, that more people of fortune from France have visited England since the late peace, than ever were known to do so before. Have the French no more sense, than to come to
F f 2 England,

if they mean to support, their combination, be true to the general interest. Let it not be said, "the British empire has gained immensely by the late war. The sun never sets on our dominions. There never were such riches in the possession of subjects."

What is the British empire to the Roman world, at the very time when the ambitious Julius seized its liberties, and turned it into the most horrible scene of tyranny, the sun ever saw? It is not the *greatness* of a state, that secures it from a fall. On the contrary, many a mighty kingdom has sunk with its own weight. Overgrown *individuals* are dangerous to the *community*. The *security* of a powerful state consists chiefly in the equal *balance* of the different *parts* of its constitution, and the *wisdom* and *fidelity* of its *governors*. Whether we can justly boast of our possessing, at present, either of these advantages, is greatly to be questioned; say rather, is clear in the negative.

Be not deceived by any of those artful, or those thoughtless, apologists for the times, who argue, "that every man is free, that our houses are our castles, &c. that therefore the state may very well be suffered to go on in its present train, and that there is no need of alterations, nor fear of public confusions."

The chain of slavery may be, in effect, *wreathed* round a people, while they think themselves free, because it has not yet *strained* them in its rigid gripe. The soldiers, who stand upon the mined ground, think themselves safe, because the infernal blast is not yet burst forth. The question is not what degree of freedom *individuals* do still possess: but whether the *state* is not in a dangerous condition; whether the *constitution* is not unhinged; whether *government* is not become a mere *cabal*; whether we are not on the verge of losing our liberties in *aristocracy*; whether any thing is wanting to our too full conviction of our present disorderly condition, but the appearance of one, or a few daring and ambitious

England, as we go to France, only to spend money? *Tempo Danav
et dana ferentes,*

Spirits,

spirits, able, and determined to seize those liberties, of which we have so precarious a hold. We are, it is true, still governed by king, lords, and commons. But the Romans had their consuls, and their senate, many ages after their liberties were gone.

He, who knows hearts, knows, that I mean not to represent our country as in a worse state than it is. I will therefore here add, that to say, public affairs are gone into *disorder*, is not saying, they are *irretrievable*. Were that the case, my labour in writing to you, as well as yours in reading what I write, would be fruitless. When the conflagration has already overwhelmed the building, when the inundation has already covered the face of the country, when the infectious distemper has unpeopled the kingdom, it is too late to propose means of prevention. But, thank Heaven! it is not yet too late to propose remedies for the disorders of our country. There is not yet sufficient reason for despairing of the commonwealth. Nay, the certain remedy of all our distresses is in *ourselves*, I mean in the aggregate body of *governors* and *people*; for we are not under a *foreign* yoke. How zealously the people will insist on redress, and how readily our governors will grant it, remains to be seen.

We are, my good countrymen, under greater obligations to those worthy patriots, who brought about the glorious Revolution of 1688, than words can express. Yet, partly through their inability to reform all disorders, (for establishments are generally the creatures of chance, as well as of wisdom) partly through deviations, occasioned by corruption, of succeeding times, and partly through unavoidable change of circumstances in a long series of years, we do at this time find, that there is great want of salutary alterations in the state.

We are, in great measure, deprived, though, I hope, not irremediably, of that, on which the very *foundation* of *liberty* must, in every nation, and under every species of free government, rest; I mean the independant *people's* weight in administration. That the people have not, at this time, their due weight in government, will appear, I humbly conceive, from what follows.

What

What constitutes a nation free, is the people's having a power, *equally* diffused according to *property*, of *choosing* the persons, who are to make the laws, by which they are to be governed, and the persons, who are to administer government over them; and of calling those persons to *account*, and obtaining certain relief in every distress, from which it is in their power to relieve them. Wherever the case of a people is such, that, through want of a sufficient hold on those in authority, they have not the means, in their *own* hands, of obtaining, of their governors, what they have a right to demand, and their governors have power to grant; wherever this is the case, that people are not in a state of freedom.

Let us now briefly consider the case of the independent people of Britain in respect of these points.

Should an obstinate prince refuse the royal assent to a salutary law passed by both houses of parliament, it is easy to bring him to reason, by informing him of the consequence, viz. the stoppage of his subsistence for next year. Thus it is manifest, redress of grievances cannot be withheld from the people by the sovereign alone, supposing the *two houses* willing to grant it. There are undoubtedly redundancies in the prerogative royal; but they are such, that they can never be of hurtful consequence of *themselves*, and without the guilty concurrence of one, or both, the other parts of the legislature.

But how stand we with respect to that tremendous body, the *upper* house? What constitutional means have the people; what means have the sovereign, the lower house, and the people, all *united*, for obtaining their assent to salutary laws or regulations, which happen to be disagreeable to their lordly humour? Should we ever come to be cursed, as our forefathers in the Stuart times were, with a set of corrupt and designing grandees, who can imagine the inconveniencies which may arise from their *obstinacy*? The state reformers at the Revolution were so intent on binding down our *kings* to their good behaviour, that they left the *grandeas* in possession of powers inconsistent with the first principles of liberty. For what can be imagined more contradictory to the natural rights of mankind, than that so *small* a number of individuals should have

Have such uncontrolled authority over a multitude, of so much greater consequence than themselves both in *number* and *wealth*, that *two* or *three hundred* persons should have it, at any time, in their power to stop the whole business of the *nation*?

It ought to have been settled at the great reformation of the state in 1688, that if at any time a law, or regulation affecting the whole community, should be found agreeable to the majority of the *lower* house, and to the *sovereign*, it should be established, whether passed by the *grandees*, or not. This would not have been so great a hardship on the members of the upper house, as our constitution actually fixes on our kings, who must *starve*, if they disoblige the parliament by refusing the royal assent, though to the *detriment* of their own *prerogative*. Of proper limitations for the *lower* house we shall speak hereafter.

As the constitution now stands, we have no check on the arbitrary power of our *grandees*, who can, as above shewn, command the concurrence of the sovereign, if they be joined by a corrupt lower house; and, by means of the military force, can do with our liberties what they please. We are, therefore, obliged to our great men, and as Dryden says, have good pennyworths of them, in that they do so little harm, while they have so much in their power.

Our representatives in the *lower* house have formerly thought themselves in some degree in our power, as we could, *perhaps*, refuse to re-elect *some* of them, if they behaved amiss. But every one must see how poor a hold this was, in a matter of such inexpressible importance; and even this we seem now to have lost.

Yet nothing here advanced, on the head of deficiencies, is any argument against the advantage of limited *monarchy*, with *lords* and *commons* likewise duly *limited*, above perhaps any other form of government. The people of property are, as above observed, the fountain of authority; and in all countries, and under all forms of government, there ought, in certain cases, to lie an *appeal* from *governors*, who may be *corrupted*, to the *people*, who *cannot* be bribed against their *general* interest: at any rate, it cannot be thought *improper*, that they who make *lawgivers*, should have power, in case of failure

224 *View of the State of public Affairs, &c.*

on the part of their constituted lawgivers, to make *laws* for themselves. *This* would be, and *nothing less* than this is, LIBERTY.

Let us, in order to form just notions of the degree of liberty at present secured to us, consider a few other particulars respecting the *lower* house. First, with regard to the *representation*, in that famous assembly, of the great and important body of the people (great and important beyond estimation both in *number* and in *property*) the commoners of Great-Britain; what could blind chance have determined more *unequal*, *irregular*, and *imperfect*, than we see it at this day? I need not tell you, my good countrymen, that the property of the commons of Britain consists of the landed, the monied, and the commercial interests.

First, as to the *landed* interest, there are two members for each county. But, on comparing the extent and value of counties, you will find, that one county, as Yorkshire for instance, is of six times more value than another, as Rutlandshire. There are but six representatives for the immense contiguity of the metropolis, comprehending London, Westminster, and Southwark, in which the very number of *dwell-ing-houses* (to say nothing of the *wealth* of the inhabitants) is beyond computation. There are as many for Old Sarum, and one or two other rotten boroughs in that neighbourhood, the whole number of houses in which have been estimated below the value of 4000*l.* which is not half the purchase of the meanest street in the cities of London or Westminster, or borough Southwark.

The *monied* interest is not represented at all. One hundred millions and upwards of property wholly excluded from a share in the legislature! excepting where the proprietors have other qualifications. The case is much the same with the *commercial* interest. A merchant or manufacturer who exports to the value of half a million every year, is not represented as a merchant or manufacturer: he has not the privilege of a beggar in a Cornish borough. Accordingly the great manufacturing towns of Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, &c. have no representation in parliament. And in

in most towns the *corporation*, which bears no proportion to the inhabitants, either in number, or property, are the only voters.

London, Westminster, and Southwark, pay eighty parts in five hundred and thirteen of the land-tax, and of the subsidy, one hundred and thirty-five; while they send only eight members to the house of commons. Cornwall and Devon, pay twenty-nine parts land-tax, and twenty-four subsidy, while they send no less than seventy members. In one view, two hundred sixty-five are represented by *eight*; while fifty-three are represented by *seventy*.

While the election of representatives is thus confined to so *small* a part of the people, can it be said that the house of commons *represents* the property of the commons of Britain? May not the interest of a few persons deputed by a twentieth part of the people, by a fiftieth part of the property, be, by an artful and corrupt court, made to appear to them quite *different* from that of the *nation*? How then are we to expect the nation's business to be done? If it be answered, "the members of the house of commons are (*some* of them) men of large *fortunes*, who, having a great deal to lose, if the nation should be ruined, can hardly be supposed to be open to bribery;" let it, on the other hand, be remembered, that three hundred members gained by the court, being a *majority*, are sufficient for every corrupt purpose; that in the house there are many men of but moderate fortunes, and many men of expensive dispositions; and that the court has in its gift, including places in the law, the army, the navy, the church, and the public offices, together with the pensions, which are publicly known (what is pocketed in private is out of the present estimate) no less than the enormous sum of TWO MILLIONS A YEAR. Is not this sufficient to bias *two* or *three* hundred individuals? And does not this explain the *eagerness* we see in so many to get into the *house*?

Every housekeeper, who pays tax for eight windows, ought to have a vote; and men of large property two, or, at the most, three. And there ought not, as at present, in one great city, or populous county, to be five thousand voters

bundled together for electing two members, while in another small place there are not fifty, perhaps not five. All men of property ought to be electors ; and all votes ought, according to their number, to have equal weight. Otherwise the people do not *govern themselves* (without which there is no *free government*) but the minority govern the majority ; five command five thousand ; a junto rules the whole.

Were every substantial *housekeeper*, in every county, a voter, and all votes of equal weight, bribery must proceed with a very slow pace. And were members elected by *ballot*, corruption must soon become impracticable, and voters would not, as now, be awed by those who have an ascendancy over them ; as it would not be known for whom each particular elector had balloted,

The disorder of an unequal representation in parliament has crept upon us gradually. It is, in a great measure, owing to the corruption of past times, when a wicked court, from infamous designs, threw an overbalance of elective power into the hands of the beggarly inhabitants of a set of contemptible boroughs. Part of the evil is likewise naturally owing to changes in the state of different places from rich to poor, and contrarywise. Were every substantial housekeeper of course a voter, and all votes of equal consequence, this last mentioned cause of the evil would finally cease. It has been computed, that not one in twenty persons, who have a natural right to a vote, nor a fiftieth part of the national wealth, is represented : if this be proper, it would likewise be proper, that of the eight hundred members of the two houses, only *forty*, perhaps only *twenty*, should have the privilege of speaking and voting, and that the remaining seven hundred and sixty, or upwards, should sit dumb, and be without relief obliged to submit to the arbitrary determinations of this pitiful minority. But would not then the majority of the *legislature* justly complain of their being under tyranny ? Have not the majority of the *people* at present the same just matter of complaint ?

Septennial parliaments are a shameless encroachment on the ancient rights of the *people*, and a deviation from the true spirit
of

of the *constitution*. All wise states have been cautious of trusting power too long in the same set of hands. Man is ever liable to be intoxicated by it : and, when he knows he is not to be soon called to account for the use he has made of it, he is emboldened to take the greater liberties. There is, therefore, no safety, but in keeping in our *own* hands, as much as possible, the power of disposing of our liberties. Is it not manifest, that a parliament elected for one year, if they continue themselves for three, and a parliament elected for three years, if they lengthen the period of their dominion to seven, are guilty of the same arbitrary *encroachment* on the privileges of their constituents, as a prince, who should break through antient constitutional limitations, and make himself a despot. Why should not the very parliament, you are now going to elect for *seven* years, continue themselves for *twenty* ? Why not for *life* ? Why should they not vote the membership to their *families*, and so put themselves on the same foot with the *peers* of England ?

Hence even the French, a nation of slaves, remark, that we are *free* only *once* in *seven* years. They see that the only shadow we have left of the important privilege of *governing ourselves*, is, the power (so far as we *have* power) of electing the lower house. This power returns into our own hands only *once* in seven years, whereas it ought to do so *seven* times. By this alone we lose *six* parts, in seven, of our liberties. Whatever pretence there was formerly for lengthening parliaments, they are now ceased. Triennial parliaments are, on some accounts less eligible than septennial. They would be attended with most part of the present debauchery, bribery, and perjury, and would gain us but little advantage. Annual elections would, with other proper regulations (of which more hereafter) produce effects of inconceivable importance to the state.

Our members are not only elected in a manner very inconsistent with equality of representation, but they have, of late years, set themselves above *responsibility* to their constituents. That is, they disclaim the authority of the very persons, who give them all the power they can lawfully pretend to.

The *people* (I do not mean the illiterate rabble, who have neither capacity for judging of matters of government, nor property to be concerned for) are the *fountain* of authority. What they order, is right: What they prohibit, is wrong: Because the public business is *their* business. And all persons have a natural right to have their business done in the manner which *they* approve of. Nothing therefore is superior to the majesty of the people, but that of the Almighty: for kings are only the people's delegates, responsible to them for their conduct. This principle lies at the bottom of all free government. On no other can the expulsion of tyrants, on no other can the glorious Revolution, to which, with all its deficiencies, we owe more than words can express, be justified. And are *members* of parliament above responsibility to the people, while *kings* are not? They too plainly shew, that they think themselves so. Our *deputies* are become, forsooth, an *august* assembly; the court-bribed deputies (many of them) of a few bought, perjured *beggars*, are awful legislators armed with *privilege*, in such manner, that we are afraid to complain of their mismanagements, lest, instead of listening to our remonstrances, they inflict *punishment* on those from whom they derive their authority. They are not to be approached, our *deputies* are not to be approached by their *constituents*, but in the humble guise of *petition*: And our petitions they may reject without consequence to themselves. Blessed British privileges!

Is not this diametrically contrary to the first principles of *free* government? What people, in electing representatives, ever intended delegating to a few the power of *tyrannising* at pleasure over *themselves*, without *responsibility*? What free people can, without indignation, behold their governors entrenched in privileges of their *own* making, whose intent is *unknown* to the subjects, and which they assume to themselves the power of *stretching* as wide as they please, making themselves at the same time legislators, judges, juries, and executioners? Did the *people* give their consent to the setting of traps to catch *themselves*? For what, I pray you, are the *boundaries* of privilege? When is the subject obnoxious?

When

When is he *safe*? That the *legislative* and *executive* powers should be lodged in the *same* hands; that the same persons should have the power of *making* laws with penal sanctions, and likewise the power of determining who are *guilty* of violating those laws; has not this been always considered as absolutely *inconsistent* with the very idea of *freedom*?

The power of the *grandeess* is, as above hinted, become more formidable than ever. Their number, their privileges, their court-*emoluments*, their *influence* in *elections*, their weight in the law, the army, the navy, the church, and the public offices, are all, to an unexampled degree, increased; which threatens danger to all that ought to be dear to us as Britons, and as men. It is not for nothing, that the wisdom of our ancestors established it as a fundamental maxim, which is to this day (for *form's* sake) a standing resolution of the House of Commons, That no lord of parliament, or peer of the realm, ought to interfere in elections of members of the lower house. But to observe how electioneering is, in our times, carried on, one would imagine the law of this land was, That no member of the House of Commons should be elected, but in *consequence* of *quality-influence*.

You are proud, my good countrymen, of your pretended right of being tried by your *peers*. And were this right, in all cases, available to your safety from arbitrary punishment, it would be matter of just pride. But, when a too free-spirited author, or an unfortunate printer, or bookseller, comes to be called before our *august assemblies*, what *relief* has he against arbitrary fines and imprisonments, in his pretended right of demanding *trial* by his *peers*? Glorious British liberty!

In the execrable times of the Stuarts, history informs us, that the brave *commons* (in their glorious struggle for those liberties, which we are now indolently suffering to slip thro' our fingers) found the *grandeess* a constant dead weight on all their spirited measures in opposition to tyranny. *Lords* are naturally drawn to join with the *court* against the interest of the people. They naturally consider the cause of *liberty* as unfavourable to them, and the rights of the *people* as an encroachment on their *privileges*.

Twelve new peers, created for the purpose, carried in the house a shameful approbation of the shameful peace of Utrecht, which, but for their villainous weight thrown into the court scale, might have brought the makers of it to the scaffold, and saved us, by that wholesome example, the succeeding disgrace we now suffer by that of Aix-la-Chapelle, &c.

How will it be with our liberties, my good countrymen, when a majority of the members of the *lower* house shall be the relations, or the creatures of the *grandeess*, introduced by their influence, by their absolute command, and enslaved to their interest; and when thus both houses must be justly considered as mere appendages of the court, as properly as the mock Roman senate under the tyranny of the emperors? Did not a celebrated nobleman very lately declare in the most public manner, that the *complaisance* of our *parliaments* for the court, is of late years become so great, that they know not how to refuse them any thing. This is the blessed fruit of the unmeasurable liberality of our court in places and pensions. This is a chain, whose links, if you do not break them, will soon bind you and your posterity in indissoluble slavery. Our *grandeess* have too long assumed an unwarrantable and unconstitutional ascendancy over their fellow subjects. It is time you should assert your privileges. Wo to that state, in which the people have not spirit enough to make their *grandeess* stand in awe of them. What is the value of the ridiculous privileges of a few great men, generally speaking the scum of a people, to the inestimable liberties of twelve millions of subjects. Better all the *grandeess* of Europe were stripped of their needless and dangerous superiorities, and themselves crushed to atoms, than the safety of the most inconsiderable state endangered.

Should our quality exhibit themselves as the public mockers of a religion, which yet, for aught they can prove to the contrary may be of heavenly origin; should they appear to be proud of the illustrious characters of jockies, rooks, gamblers, blasphemers, sabbath-breakers, adulterers, ravishers, corruptors, election-jobbers; how should we comfort ourselves in the thought, that such worthies, as these, have a *negative* against the

the whole people of Britain, with their king and their representatives on their side? Should we see the British government turned into a mere game at foot-ball, a scramble for power, place, and profit ———

British lion! where dost thou crouch? Rouse thy wraths: utter thy tremendous roar. The slavish and enslaving junto will tremble at the glare of thine eye. Genius of England! ever formidable to tyranny, awake. Guardian angel of these favoured realms! save thy important charge. Rather, supreme of governors, king of kings, lord of lords! inspire, with sentiments of public virtue, the people of these once highly-favoured realms, that they may nobly unite in the noblest cause, and save the most illustrious of empires from that ruin which threatens it.

The multitude of *placemen* and *pensioners*, who sit in the house of *commons*, is one of those atrocious and growing abuses, which have long been complained of, but, through the prevailing power of corruption, without effect. It is no security to our liberties, that every member, accepting a place, is obliged to be re-elected. The very *income* arising from his corrupt connexion, enables him to recover, of his handful of venal electors, the seat he had for a short time left. There is, therefore, a law grievously wanted, by which every person enjoying an emolument under the court, should be as effectually *incapacitated* for sitting in the house of commons, as if he were deceased,

The *expence* heaped on this *indebted* and distressed nation, to fill the pockets of a set of worthless court-tools, is, of late years, carried beyond all bounds of shame. Besides the bare-faced *villainy* of our great men in shewing themselves the public robbers of their country, the evils arising from this unbounded dissipation of the national treasure are of the most *destructive* consequences to the state. From hence that unexampled degree of sordid *avarice*, which disgraces our times. From hence the contempt openly expressed for all public spirit, all love of country, all political virtue and sentiment, which godlike dispositions are now declared to be visionary and romantic, or, at best, but antiquated. From hence the
endless

endless scramble we see carried on among our great preferment-hunters, with an effrontery fairly declaring, that they mean not the public benefit; nay, that they have not sentiment enough to aim at *honour*; but that they seek only the sordid profit of serving their country. From hence the dangerous *connexions* among great families, threatening a change of the constitution into *aristocracy*, or government by a *junto*, in which both king and kingdom may be involved.

The business is not, in our times, whether the man, who proposes himself for the first office in the state, is duly qualified in respect of *personal* endowments, and virtuous dispositions; but whether the *emolument* is sufficient for his expences at New-market, Cornellys's, and the gaming-table; and whether he will be contented with only *fifty* of his relations and creatures employed and *pensioned*. This is laying the whole stress on that which produces *no benefit*, but, on the contrary, *ruin* to the public, and totally neglecting what is alone of consequence to the people.

There is, in fact, no employment in either church or state, which deserves above two or three hundred pounds a year, exclusive of those in the navy and army, and these only in time of war. The common abilities of gentlemen's stewards, or merchants' clerks, are fully sufficient for the common routine of business. Had the first shopkeeper, or the first porter, to be met with in Cheapside, guided our public affairs, and so on to the rest in rotation, ever since the Revolution, could they have been in a worse situation, than we now see them? Yet the money dissipated by way of salaries to those, who have applied their time and talents to the ruining of their country, would almost pay the debt of the nation.

The pretence of the necessity of state and pomp, to strike the vulgar with a sense of authority, is pretence, and nothing else. If it be said, that, on this account, persons in high place must have large incomes to defray this extraordinary expence, the answer is easy, *viz.* that it is not vain shew and *parade*, that impresses a people with a sense of the necessity of obedience; but good principles planted in the youth (in which important work the parochial clergy of England are, by the bye most infamously

famously negligent) a good *example* exhibited by persons of rank (our people of condition are the principal corruptors of the virtue of the nation) and superior wisdom and goodness in governors, appearing in their impartial administration of *justice*, remunerative, and penal.

If my steward, clerk, or footman, has served me faithfully, and, during his service, has been liberally maintained and salaried by me, am I obliged, or will he (if his impudence be not equal to that of a lord) demand of me, to settle on him a *pension* for life, to devolve on his *son* after him? And must I do the same by fifty *successive* servants? Suppose, instead of serving me faithfully, they have put my affairs into utter *confusion*, am I obliged to overpay them tenfold, while in my service, and to pension their sons after them, to the beggaring of myself and my family? In our times the practice is, to give a *floating* pension to every sycophant whom we like, or whom we fear, till we can settle on him one *fixed*; to pay those we employ, and those we can't employ; and to load the sinking state with twenty or thirty thousands additional annual expence at every change of court-tools, of which we make fifty in every septenary of years.

Another important particular in the present state of affairs, which has long been complained of, and has, in all free states, been looked upon as ominous to liberty, and in many has proved its ruin, is the *military* force. The proper force of a free state is, the whole body of the *people*, or a certain number of the people enrolled by rotation, and never finally *detached* from the rest, as an *army* necessarily must be, but *returning* again after a short absence among their friends and acquaintance, and carrying on their *civil* employments, as before. This would keep up their attachment to the *people* in such a manner, that they never could be made instruments of tyranny against their friends, relations, and acquaintance.

Consider, my good countrymen, the time has been, perhaps may return, when the people may be obliged to have recourse to *force*, all milder methods for recovering their invaded liberties proving ineffectual. In such a case, do you not think an army of almost twenty thousand men, *ready* trained and disciplined, and at the command of a tyrant, or a junto

of grandees, would throw an immense advantage into the hands of the oppressors? Look back into the history of the troubles of former times, and judge.

Our insular situation, and powerful fleet, render an army the least necessary to us of any people in Europe. And, indeed, there is no method of making a people more formidable to *foreign* invaders, and more difficult to be conquered, than accustoming the generality of them to some knowledge of the use of arms. A standing military force in Britain is therefore useless and dangerous, except to a court, who may hope by its means to enslave the nation.

It was, by some good-natured people, hoped, that the late militia scheme would supersede the use of a standing army. Others saw through the artifice. And now all perceive, that the design of those, who regulated it in so ridiculous a manner, was to disgust us against it, and make us desire to see it dissolved. Yet it is not the less true, that a *militia*, properly regulated, is, as I have just observed, the only natural internal defence of a *free* people, inhabiting an island; and that a standing *army* is a just ground of uneasiness in a country, in which there are many *other* suspicious appearances.

Thus, my good countrymen, I have pointed out to you, and that but very briefly, a few of the many disorders which threaten ruin to this mighty state. To exhibit to your view a complete catalogue of them, with all their aggravations, and probable consequences, would require many volumes, instead of one short pamphlet. Many whole heads of grievances I am obliged to leave out; as, for instance, the numerous classes of those, which belong to ecclesiastical affairs, the law, police, neglect of manners, population, &c.

Nor have I room for quotations from the history of our own, and other countries, which would throw great light on these important subjects, and give strong *confirmation* to what I have advanced concerning the present *dangerous* state of national affairs.

Nor is it within the compass of a pamphlet to lay before you a comprehensive enough plan of regulations, which might be proposed for redressing grievances. This may be done after the meeting of the new parliament; and I wish it may be done by an abler hand,

I will

I will, therefore, now proceed to point out to you what you have in your power at this critical time, to do, or at least, *attempt*, for your country, as *electors* of the members, who are to form a *new* house of commons.

Do you consider, my good countrymen, what you do, when you elect a representative for *seven* years? Do you consider what mischiefs a set of worthless men, attached to an ambitious peerage, and a corrupt court, may bring on their country in so *long* a period of *unlimited* power? If you do rightly consider this, you will, I imagine, be cautious *whom* you trust, and on what *conditions*.

Have the members of the *last* parliament, by their conduct, recommended themselves to your *favour* in this election? Look back on the hideous waste of the public money in carrying on a *German* war. Call to mind the alienation of the affections of our American children, by a mad and unjust exertion of power in subjecting them to *taxation* without *representation*, and then being obliged to undo what they had rashly done. Look on the *meagre* faces of our poor *manufacturers*, whom they have, by their mismanagement, suffered to come into needless misery in the midst of plenty, while they have eased themselves of a fourth part of the *land-tax*, and left the burden on *soap*, *candles*, and *beer*, without which the poor cannot subsist. The present scarcity is either real, or artificial. If real, they are curious watchmen, who suffered and encouraged the exportation of corn, the over-breeding of horses, and the killing of calves and lambs, in so boundless a manner, that the land must have suffered famine, had not his M. stretched prerogative to save the nation. If the scarcity is artificial, they are able statesmen, who suffer the few to starve the many, and reduce our artificers to the necessity of flying their country. Instead of exporting corn, they ought to have imported people. This, and small farms, are the true method of encouraging agriculture, and at the same time of keeping our manufactures on a foot with those of our rivals.

Cast a reflection, I say, on these and the like instances of the wisdom and faithfulness of those, who represented you in the *last* parliament; and from thence judge of their *fitness* for the same important trust in the *next*. Every national

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grievance now remaining, which they have not at least *attempted* to remove, is a proof of their merit, and ought to be considered by you as such.

The man, who uses any art, as of *canvassing*, *treating*, or giving *présents* (I say nothing of *bribery*, because there the villainy is *evident*) shews that he desires to obtain your favour with *other* views, than of serving *you*, or his *country*.

By the law of the land, a candidate may insist on every elector's purging himself, by oath, of all charge of having received either by himself, or any one for him, any actual consideration, or promise of any kind of emolument, to engage his vote. This law was made by members; not by electors. Had the latter been the makers of it, they would have bound the oath upon the *candidates*, who are the first tempters, and infinitely more criminal than the needy voters.

Now you have, my good countrymen, a fair opportunity of regulating this matter properly. Turn the tables. Demand of every *candidate* an oath, that he has used no art whatever to engage any one vote. If he publicly perjures himself, would you trust all you hold dear on earth to one of the devil's factors? If he has, as far as you know, sworn truly, you are then to consider his other *pretensions* to assume so important a charge.

A *weak* man, who does not understand the constitution, or the interests of his country, may, through folly, betray them into the hands of a crafty minister. The bashful and *timid* will let himself be borne down by the violence of party. The awkward *speaker* will not dare to open his mouth in defence of his constituents, or country. The man of small *fortune*, and the man of great *expence*, are alike obnoxious to bribery.

By no means elect a man of bad *private* morals. His breaking through the sacred rules of rectitude by one habitual crime shews him to be deficient in *principle*. And would you trust your all to a man, whom you *know* to be deficient in principle? A wicked man in a station of power, is a fiend armed with infernal fire.

Yet do not think you secure your country, merely by electing a set of men of *decent* characters, and of fair *promises*.

You

You know, the time was, when such men as Harley and Bolingbroke, the makers, afterwards, of the infamous peace of Utrecht, and the promoters of the interest of a Popish pretender, were the flaming patriots; and many of the good-natured people of these kingdoms were deceived by their pretences. You know, the author of the abominable excise-scheme, the father of corruption, was, at his first appearance, the zealous opposer of a Jacobite ministry, and the head of the Whigs, the friends of liberty. You know, he who, for ten years together, mouthed at him in the senate, and at last overthrew him, disappointed every hope he had raised in us, and falsified every promise he had made to us. You know, it was a pretended whig ministry, who made the execrable peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which we lost the whole fruits of the war which it terminated, and found ourselves just where we set out, excepting the comfort of a load of additional debt contracted for no useful purpose; the design of our going to war disappointed; and the British name to latest posterity disgraced by our shameful compliance with the insolent demands of France, in sending hostages to secure our observance of a shameful treaty. Need I to put you in mind of our late disappointment in him, who once seemed to shew a truly British spirit; but afterwards proved more thoroughly Germanized, than ever British minister was before; and to whom, accordingly, we owe our present needlessly overloaded, and almost ruined condition? Or need I to recall to your memory our late mock-patriot-junto, celebrated by the distinction of the *Minority*? You remember how they bellowed out for Britain and for liberty. Have not several of them been since in power? What have they done? What have they attempted? What advantageous change have they made, or attempted to make, in the state of public affairs? Is there any thing in all this, but caballing? Any thing but sporting with the sacred interests of a whole people?

Put, I pray you, my good countrymen, no trust in any man, or denomination of men, whatever. You have already tried patriots; you have tried Tories; you have tried Whigs; you have tried Minority-men: in a word, you have tried and tried, till you have tried yourselves almost into ruin.

What

What I mean, above all things, to request of you at present is, to *secure*, in this general election, the *responsibility* of your members. The legislature has too long ruled you according to their *arbitrary* pleasure. It is high time, that you should insist on their conducting *public* affairs according to the *public* mind.

Tell your candidates, that you mean to elect persons to represent *you*, to do *your* business, in the manner *you* approve of. Tell them, that you expect they will, at the end of every session, *answer*, upon oath, to whatever *questions* you shall put to them, concerning public business transacted in the house. Inform them, that you will *instruct* them what to propose, and how to vote, in national concerns, during every session, and that you will afterwards call them to a strict *account*.

Suffer no man to stand candidate, who will not bind himself in a *bond* of at least ten thousand pounds, to *vacate* his seat in the house, at the end of every session, if required by the majority of his constituents ; the *value* of the bond to be put in *your* hands.

No man of fortune will employ a rent-gatherer, without demanding security. And would you entrust, without security, your all, and your children's all, where you know what powerful *temptations* to breach of trust are likely to be offered, and this after so many repeated *deceptions*.

Should you, my good countrymen, be persuaded to follow this direction, you may soon put your affairs in a proper train for redress. This would be, in fact, reducing parliaments from septennial to *annual*, and reclaiming six parts, in seven, of your long-lost *rights*. Court-bribery would then find her wings clipped, and her heels fettered. Your representatives would then be left to follow the unbiassed dictates of *conscience*, and to pursue the interest of their *constituents*. You would then obtain from them whatever salutary regulations you might reasonably require. An immense sum might be kept in the public treasury, which is now doled away in annual pensions for doing dirty work. In short, the *nation* might, by this regulation, and its natural consequences, be *saved*. For, if any of your representatives should, in the course

course of a session, shew themselves negligent of your *instructions*, or obstinate against measures salutary for the state, you have it in your power to put their *bonds in force* against them, if they *refuse to yield* their seats to others, whom you may engage, if necessary, by obvious means, to prove faithful stewards to the public. It would then be *your* fault, if you did not insist on those regulations being made, which would restore the decayed and ruinous parts of the constitution to the condition in which our wise ancestors settled them, and even farther reform what the concussions of troublesome times did not permit them to establish on a foundation sufficiently solid and durable.

No candidate can think these demands unreasonable. He pretends to undertake *your* business. And would he keep in his hands the management of *your* business longer than *you* choose he should? Would he manage *your* affairs in a manner *you* do not approve? If he tells you, “this proposal of binding down your representatives is *unconstitutional*,” answer him, that an *unequal* representation; a parliament of *noble-men’s* creatures, of *placemen*, and *pensioners*; at the beck of a *court*; continued, by their *own* assumption, six years longer than they ought; is much *more* unconstitutional. If he tells you, “that members of parliament must be left at *liberty* to propose, and to vote for what may, in their great wisdom, *appear to them*, in consequence of argumentation held in the house, and the *new* lights they may then see things in, useful for the public good, or contrariwise; and that, therefore, he cannot agree to be *bound* down to vote in a *certain* manner; answer him, that you require nothing of him, but what he requires of his steward, viz. to *resign* his place, whenever the *constituents* judges him *unfit* for holding it longer. Tell him, you will allow him a *sufficiency* of *discretionary* power in matters of *inferior* consequence; but that *you* know as well as he (I have told you, if you never considered it before) what is *essential* to the well-being of the state, and what naturally leads to its destruction; and that you have no notion of *trusting* (after so many *deceptions*) yourselves, your children, and your country, to the *discretion* of any man, or set of men whatever, without proper conditions previously settled.

Will

Will any one object, "That no gentleman will, on such conditions, and with such prospects, take upon him the representation of any place in parliament, and that therefore we shall not be able, with these limitations, to make a parliament?" What! must we then have no parliament, or a parliament, who shall have leave to go on in the same hopeful track, which has brought us to the edge of the precipice, till they *finish* what their predecessors have so successfully carried on, and dash us headlong into irretrievable destruction?

If this be the alternative, let us, in the name of patriotism, have no parliament. Any thing, rather than *voluntary* slavery. Let the independant people associate themselves according to their several counties. The people (be it ever remembered) are the fountain of authority. Government is no more than the body of directors of the Bank, or East-India company. Do the proprietors of Bank or East-India stock consider themselves as dependent on their directors?

Let it never be said, that this mighty, this supposed *free* empire depends on the caprice of five or six hundred individuals. But this I write only as an answer to an objection, which I scarce think will be made. For I doubt not but the free and independent electors of Great-Britain will, with a proper exertion of wisdom, and of spirit, find persons willing to represent them in parliament, on terms of safety and honour to the people.

Shall a set of journeymen-tailors, or weavers, assemble in an illegal manner, and unite in a scheme for raising their wages? Shall they effectuate what they proposed? And shall it be said, that the free and independent electors of Great-Britain, lawfully assembled for the important purpose of choosing men, into whose hands they are to entrust their whole concerns in this world, have not *spirit* enough to assert their just right of demanding from their *deputies* sufficient *security*, that they will do *their* business to *their* satisfaction?

My advice to you, my good countrymen, to demand security of your members, and the reasons I have given for your doing so, may perhaps, to them, seem *free*, if not *bold*. But I would have you consider, that my proposal is intended for the preservation of the *tranquillity* of these kingdoms, not
for

for its *disturbance*. If you do not seize the *present* opportunity for securing yourselves, the time may, and probably will quickly come, when the spirits of the people, being justly *irritated* at seeing the public concerns neglected, and affairs going into confusion, they will become *desperate*; they will rise like a whirlwind, and tear all to pieces, instead of regularly demanding redress of their superiors. There is at present but little regard for country remaining among us. And there will be less and less, as the people observe their own security and happiness continually diminishing. Were our *governors* wiser, and less short-sighted, than they are, they would of *themselves* prevent this dreadful danger by a voluntary exertion of their power in redressing what is wrong, and restoring what is decayed. If they *refuse*, when solicited, what are we to call them? The *friends* of their *country*? God forbid! for he is the God of truth.

I know not whether some pension-crammed sycophant, who has long basked in the sunshine of the court, and is grown fat on the spoils of his over-loaded and impoverished country, may not, on reading these pages, cry out, “*sedition, rebellion, an incendiary!*”

Do not you, my good countrymen, suffer yourselves to be any longer so easily deceived. Let not *words* draw away your attention from *things*; from things of such consequence, that, excepting the salvation of your souls, your anxiety cannot be employed on weightier matters.

There is nothing of *sedition* in warning a too thoughtless people of dangers, from which it is still *constitutionally* in their power, with proper endeavours, to deliver themselves, but which otherwise must overwhelm them. The *treachery*, in such a case, would be to keep *silence*. If it is not in the *power* of the people to obtain redress (which I am far from asserting) we are *already* enslaved. In which case, there is nothing we may not lawfully do against our tyrants. But the whole of the truth is only, that there is much to *amend*; but nothing *desperate*. And it is evident, there can no hurtful consequence follow from *redressing* what is gone into *disorder*. There is no *innovation* in reducing back to first *principles*, what has, through

lapse of time, degenerated. If the *original* constitution, established by the wisdom of our ancestors, was right, (and, surely, the envied happiness, so long enjoyed by the inhabitants of this favoured isle, shews that it was right) is it not constitutional to *restore* it, where it is decayed and ruinous? If (though in the main good and laudable) it be, as all human things, imperfect, ought we not to do whatever we can to render it more perfect?

My good countrymen,

WHETHER you will pay due regard to the proposals I have here made you, for securing the responsibility of your representatives, in order to your obtaining of them a redress of your innumerable grievances, and a regulation of the innumerable disorders of your country; or whether you will, by this means, at this time, effectuate what is so much to be desired, it is impossible for me to prognosticate. Thus much I know, that it is high time, that what is wrong were redressed; and that if you be unwilling, or unable, to do any thing for your country's advantage at this critical juncture, matters will be in a state of greater disorder and difficulty, before you have such another opportunity as the present.

The body-politic, like the natural, where diseased, does *not continue* in the same state; but, neglected, *declines* more and more, till it perishes utterly. If you should (which Heaven and honesty forbid!) prefer a partial and selfish interest, improperly so called, to the general good of the nation; if electors should tamely yield to the *authority*, or to the *allurements* of candidates, and form a new house of commons, as usual, without *security* demanded, or received, for the redress of disorders, and reformation of the state; if, in short, it should appear that all ranks are corrupt, and that the fault is in the *people*, as much as in the government: the few virtuous, who abhor such dispositions, and such practices, will do well to abandon a country devoted to destruction. But I will hope, whilst I can hope, that what I have here laid before you, my good countrymen, will have its due effect, and that you will give me reason to felicitate myself on my proving an instrument of good to my dear country. I am,

My good countrymen, your faithful friend, REGULUS.

O. P. O. D. D. I. E. I. B. M. D.

P O S T S C R I P T.

IF any elector has rashly *engaged* his vote, and, on that account, thinks himself *obliged* to give it, without security demanded of the candidate according to my proposals; let him know, that all such engagements are *conditional*, and that therefore he may lawfully *refuse* to vote till the candidate engages properly on his part. No man is obliged to employ a person (whatever he may have rashly promised) who *refuses* to give proper *security* for his faithfulness.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Lawyers excluded from Parliament.

OF all the methods which have, at different times, been proposed for preserving the constitution of the English government, none is more essential than the ascertaining exactly the qualifications of those who may be chosen members of parliament. Several offices, dependent on the court, have been supposed and declared to disqualify the possessors of them for this important trust. But the lawyers, I believe, are the only set of men, who, without any dependence on the court, and merely from the spirit of their profession, have been deemed unfit for sitting in that assembly; and, what is remarkable, they were so deemed and declared by that patriotic parliament, commonly called the *Blessed Parliament*, which met the 25th of Edward III. A. D. 1352, and which passed the famous *statute of treasons*, limiting the crime of high treason to the three general heads of conspiring against the life of the king, levying war against his person, and adhering to his enemies.

Whether it was (says a certain historian *) the over-open hand of a practising lawyer, always ready to grasp a fee, or the extravagant deference paid to that fee; as if a motive, fordid in its nature, could so hallow a cause of cursed iniquity, as to render it fit for any man to prostitute his tongue in its behalf, and to employ what talents he has (either in argumen-

* Carte, Vol. II. p. 480.

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tation, eloquence, skill in the quirks of law, or in outfacing truth itself) to pervert justice, to impose on the minds of jurors, and influence them to an unjust verdict: or whether a strong bias, habitual disposition, and fruitful genius, in too many, for turning every trust and situation in life to their own private advantage, were the reasons, why one of the wisest of our kings, with his council composed of great men, and parliaments themselves, thought it necessary to incapacitate practising lawyers from sitting in the house of commons: it is certain they were the first set of men expressly excluded.

This exclusion is not disagreeable to the tenor and spirit of the original writs of summons, the sole foundation and warrant for the solemn meetings of parliaments, without which they never did, nor can legally assemble. Those directed to cities and boroughs, requiring them to choose one or more of the discreetest and most substantial citizens or burgesses; and those for the election of knights of the shire, ordering two of the wisest and most considerable knights of each county to be returned. The word *militis*, though generally used for *knights*, is indeed capable of a more extensive sense, so as to comprehend all persons whatever, that held of the crown immediately by *knights* service: but the most considerable of such military tenants directed by the writs, were undoubtedly military men by their profession, and had received the order of knighthood. It hath been, in all ages, the misfortune of this nation, that the gentlemen of the greatest eminency have been too much inclined to excuse themselves from attendances on the service of their country: hence it came that county courts lost first their dignity, and afterwards their use and authority; hence causes came to be left to the decision of little freeholders; and the freeholder's book, whence special juries are taken in causes of moment, is, either by carelessness or design, so contrived in some counties, as not to afford a complete jury of gentlemen. It was, probably, this aversion to trouble, that made the most considerable knights of a county not care to attend the business of parliament, especially in some junctures, when dirty work was to be done, or when men of honour, virtue, and conscience could

could not sit there, consistent with their character and principles. Such was the case in the parliaments convened for the deposing of Edward II, and during the tyrannical administration of Roger Mortimer, when lawyers seem to have crept into the house; getting thereby an opportunity of making their court to the minister, and finding a considerable emolument in an attendance, which all others considered as a burden. Four shillings a day, the constant wages of a knight of a shire, though more than ten times that sum in our days, was not a sufficient equivalent for the trouble and inconveniences which a gentleman of the first distinction in his country must undergo by removing from his family to London, nor indeed was it worth his attention; but it was a very considerable advantage to a lawyer, whose business called him hither in term time: the terms in those days being the usual times of parliaments sitting.

It is not unreasonable to suppose, that such lawyers had been Mortimer's instruments and abettors in his illegal, violent, arbitrary, and oppressive measures: since Edward III. (when after the seizure of that arrogant minister in A. D. 1330, he signified to the nation, that he had taken the government into his own hands with a design to redress all their grievances, and invited all persons to come and lay all their oppressions and hardships before the parliament he had summoned to meet on Monday, November 26) ordered the sheriffs to return; by the common assent and election of each county, two of the worthiest and most considerable knights or esquires therein, that could not be suspected of *any knavish tricks, or of maintaining false suits and quarrels*. The reason assigned for this order was, "that the sitting of such *tricking fellows and maintainers of false suits*, in the late parliaments, as representatives of counties, had been greatly to the damage of the king and the nation, particularly by their hindering good men from representing the grievances of the people, and from making remonstrances on any subject that ought to have redress in parliament."

The English seem to be people in the world that improve the least by experience; they soon relapsed into their former carelessness

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carelessness in relation to their representatives; and about eight years after, the king complaining either of their choosing, or the sheriff returning, unfit persons for counties in former parliaments, which had been the occasion that no business could be done therein, gave order (in the writs dated November 16, 12 E. III. for summoning a parliament to meet on January 20) to the sheriffs to take particular care, that the election of members should be made with more judgment and circumspection. This was the first time that the clause against improvident elections was ever put into the writ of summons: it was repeated in the writ of 14 E. III. and hath ever since continued to be inserted. Whether that clause was too general, or not sufficient, to exclude lawyers, there was added the year following, in the writ, on the close roll of 13 E. III. the words *gladiis cinctos* after *milites*, requiring the two knights, chosen and returned for shires, to be actually dubbed, and received into the order of knighthood. This is the first time, that the words *gladiis cinctos* occur in any writ; and that this was their true meaning, is evident from the explanation thereof in the close roll of the 22d year of this king, where in the writ of summons, specifying the qualifications of knights of shires, after the words *gladiis cinctos*, are added these, *et ordinem militare habentes, et non alios*, expressly requiring that none but such as had received the order of knighthood should be chosen.

The same writ, giving more general directions with regard to the qualifications of all the representatives of the people in parliament, requires them to choose *the fittest, the discreetest, the most approved in point of probity, and most creditable knights, citizens, and burgeses*: and in the next parliament of the 25th of the same king, the directions in the writ are still more explicit, requiring that such knights, citizens, and burgeses should be chosen, *as were not maintainers of quarrels, suits or pleas, or such as lived by them; but substantial men, of good credit, and lovers of the public good*. This clause was inserted in the writ of summons, dated November 15th, for the next parliament to be held on January 13 following, when the act of treasons was passed. It appears likewise in the writs
for

for the parliaments of the 28th and 29th of the same reign. It may not be improper to observe, that whenever it was inserted, the words *gladiis cincti* (which equally excluded practising lawyers) were omitted. It was thought, perhaps, too great and open a slur upon these lawyers to point them out so particularly : and the clause being omitted in the writ of the 31st of this king, the less offensive exclusion of them from representing counties, contained in the words *milites gladiis cinctos*, was again revived, and continued, without alteration, till the 44th of this reign, when the following addition was made to them, viz. *et in armis et actibus armorum magis probatos, et circumspectos et discretos*.

There was, in the same writ, a general instruction given to the sheriff, with regard to the knights, citizens, and burgesses to be chosen, requiring them all to be *the best, the ablest, and the discreetest* of their respective counties, cities, and boroughs : but the additional clause above quoted, requiring the *knights to be dubbed, and most exercised in arms and in feats of arms, most circumspect and discreet*, was perhaps occasioned by some unwarrantable and unfair practices of lawyers to get into parliament. The first instance there is upon record, of undue return, was in the 36th of this king's reign ; when, by the writ directed to the sheriff, *Edmund Laurence* and *Matthew de Rishton* were returned as knights for Lancashire. They were the high sheriff's deputies, or under sheriffs ; and, without the formality of election, had returned themselves, in hopes of getting the wages payable for attendance in parliament.

The king doth not seem to have been informed of the fact, till they demanded the writ for levying the wages ; and then ordered a precept, on November 27, to the sheriff, to enquire, whether they were duly chosen by the assent of the community of the county ; and after laying the matter before the knights and others in a full county-court, to certify him the truth thereof, and in the mean time to suspend the levying of their wages. These under-sheriffs, getting possession of the writ, made no execution of it, and yet began to levy their

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their wages of the county. The king, informed of this proceeding, and desirous to obviate the cheat, sent on February 12, another writ to *Godfrey Foljambe* and his fellow keepers (or justices) of the peace for the county, ordering them, "in their next session, to call before them the knights and other approved persons of the county, who could inform them of the premisses, and after a diligent enquiry, to certify him how the case stood, under their seals in chancery." The sheriff had likewise fresh orders sent him "to supersede the levy of the wages, till further orders from his Majesty, and 'till the dueness of the election was decided." A practice so destructive of the constitution of parliaments, an abuse of the sheriff's office in a matter of the highest consequence, and other inconveniences, found by experience to arise from lawyers, either intruding themselves into parliament, or sitting there, seem to have given occasion to an ordinance or act of parliament in the 46th of the same reign, by which *lawyers* and *sheriffs* were expressly excluded for ever from being chosen or returned to parliament, or having any wages on that account.

As this act is not printed among the statutes, it may not be amiss to recite the purport thereof out of the parliament roll, in which the following ordinance is said to have been read, and to have the royal assent: "Whereas the people of the law, who follow diverse businesses in the king's courts for particular persons, as their proctors or solicitors, and cause many petitions to be exhibited in parliament, in the name of the commons, which do not at all concern them, but only the particular persons, whose business they follow; sheriffs also, who are common ministers of the people, and ought to mind their office, by which they ought to do right to every one, are named, and *have been before this time returned* in parliament, knights of counties, by *themselves* being sheriffs: *It is accorded and assented to in this parliament, that, for the future, no man of the law, following business, or practising in the king's courts, nor sheriff, for the time he is sheriff, may be returned*

turned or accepted for knights of counties, nor shall any lawyers or sheriffs for the future, returned to parliament, have any wages."

It doth not appear, that this act ever was repealed; but king Edward III, dying about five years after, the minority of his successor, and the troubles of his reign, afforded the practising lawyers an opportunity of worming themselves again into parliament; though they were not knights *gladiis cincti*, a qualification required in all knights of shires, till esquires were enabled by the act of 23 Henry VI. C. 15, to be chosen, except in a single instance. This was in a parliament held in the 47th of Edward III; which being called to consider of the king's expedition abroad, the rights of the crown beyond sea, and the state and defence of the realm, the writs (directed to the sheriffs of *Northamptonshire* and other counties) required either two knights *dubbed*, or two of the *worthiest and most approved esquires, the most expert in feats of arms, and most discreet, and none of any other rank or condition*, to be chosen for counties. There was, in the same writ, a like singular qualification required of citizens and burgesles, who were to be *the most discreet and sufficient of their towns, and such as had the best skill in shipping, and in the exercise of merchandize*: but notwithstanding this dispensation, on a particular occasion, from the general rule in favour of military esquires, the practical lawyers were still excluded.

Now, Sir, the inference I would draw from the above curious facts, is, that, if lawyers were then excluded from parliament, they ought still to be excluded: for what qualifications do they now possess, which they then wanted? It may be said, perhaps, that they are now upon a more liberal and genteel footing than they were; for that in the times we have been speaking of, the profession of the law was upon so mean an establishment, that the judges were restrained, by no less a penalty than that of *hanging*, from taking presents, rewards, or any thing besides *meat and drink*, from their suitors; and that a lord chief-justice, of the name of Thorn, was actually condemned to death for this very crime; though he afterwards obtained a pardon. This reasoning may, perhaps, be ad-

*O wretched State ! Oh bosom black as death !
Oh limed soul, that, struggling to be free,
Art more engaged.* Shakespear.

INNOCENCE, even in it's crudest simplicity, has some advantages over the most dexterous and practised guilt. Equivocal appearances may, to be sure, accidentally attend it in it's progress through the world; but the very scrutiny which these appearances will excite, operates in favour of innocence; which is secure the moment it is discovered. But guilt is a poor, helpless, dependent being. Without the alliance of able, diligent, and, let me add, fortunate fraud, it is inevitably undone. If the guilty culprit be obstinately silent, his silence forms a deadly presumption against him: if he speaks, talking tends to discovering; and his very defence often furnishes materials towards his conviction.

This has been exactly the case of those unhappy men (the M——y) in that apology for their conduct, which they chuse to complicate with their opposition to the settlement of the national property. Nobody, not originally acquainted with the bottom of their proceedings, was able to discern the true

true nature and full extent of their crime, until we had seen upon what principles they grounded their defence.

It is worth while to lay this affair a little more open. The maxim of *Nullum tempus occurrit R—i*; that *no length of continuance, or good faith of possession, is availed against a claim of the C—n*, has been long the opprobrium of prerogative, and the disgrace of our law. The ablest writers in that profession have ever mentioned it with abhorrence. The best judges have always cast an odium upon it, as being fundamentally contrary to natural equity, and all the maxims of a free government. And a superior genius, a great light of the law, has not long since endeavoured to give it as great a check as judicature, unaided by legislative power, is able to interpose.

The truth is, this prerogative has hitherto owed it's existence principally to it's disuse. It was an engine, at once so formidable to the people, and so dangerous to those who should attempt to handle it, that it never was considered amongst the instruments of a *wise minister*. It remained like an old piece of cannon I have heard of somewhere, of an enormous size, which stood upon a ruinous bastion, and which was seldom or never fired, for fear of bringing down the fortification; for whose defence it was intended.

But, constituted as administration is at present, where real power is invested in one hand, and responsible office placed in another; from the security of the former situation, and from the servile dependance of the latter, it is no wonder, that hazardous measures should be commanded without fear, and that they should be executed, though with the utmost trepidation and reluctance. From thence arose that desperate proceeding, which has given such an universal alarm to property.

Upon the first attack on that rotten part of prerogative (out of whose corruption the late northern grant was generated) the M——s found themselves entirely at a loss. To defend their *nullum tempus* upon principles of liberty, or even upon principles of justice, was a thing clearly impossible. To abandon it without reflecting on their past conduct, and without giving up their future projects, was a point of equal difficulty. It seems that they had hoarded up those malicious powers of

the C——n, as a grand military magazine, towards the breaking the fortunes, and depressing the spirit of the nobility, for drawing the common people from their reliance on the natural interests of their country to an immediate dependence on the C——n, and principally for enabling ministers, public or secret, to domineer and give the law in all future elections. They thought their scheme would then be compleat, if the votes of freeholders, the very means which our ancestors had provided as the great security to our freedom, could be converted into the most certain instruments of the public servitude.

It was evident, that when they refused to give up this barbarous maxim, it was their intention to make some sort of use of it. Such a conclusion could not in any way be evaded. In this strait they took the part of avowing, that they did intend to find some employment for their favourite prerogative, which, after so long a trance, they had thought proper to disenchant, and to set in action. It was then their business to find some excuse for themselves, and some pretence of public utility for their system.

On this occasion they built upon two grounds well worthy of the reader's utmost attention; the first I shall now point out; the latter, and most important, would transgress the limits of your paper. It shall be reserved for another opportunity.

The first thing they did, was totally to disclaim their own *free agency*. In the highest department of the state, they declared themselves to be mere creatures of execution. They asserted, that they were in all matters of this sort entirely subservient to an officer, hitherto little heard of, but from henceforth to be a name of dreadful note in this country, THE SURVEYOR-GENERAL. It is their system, that if *informers* (be they who they may, in circumstances of indigence to make any desperate attempt, or of wealth and power to combat the great, and crush the poor) can contrive to obtain the surveyor's report in their favour, ministers are *obliged*, without farther inquiry, to grant to them patents to vex, harass, impoverish, possibly to ruin any honest proprietor in the kingdom.

It

It is true, that they supported themselves, in this perverse doctrine by no one argument from law, usage, or common sense : but it is their system ; and it is mentioned here, not to shew the depth of their understanding, but the malignity of their designs. For if once they could come to establish this their favourite point, things would stand thus—the *surveyor-general*, who keeps all the C——n titles (*inaccessible to the subject*) has an hint to find a weak part in some old possession ; say of sixty, say of two hundred years. A court-favourite has an hint to become an informer, a character no way incompatible with his own. Then all the rest follows of course. The L——s of the T——y *must* obey the informer, and make the reference ; the surveyor *must* obey the T——y, and report ; and then the T——y, in their turn, *must* obey the surveyor, and direct the grant. The whole system moves, according to the pre-ordained laws of despotism, in a circle of strict necessity.

In this procedure, who can convict the *surveyor-general* of corrupt activity or obedience ? He is only bound to prove, that the lands in question have been in some former age in the hands of the crown. This is not difficult : All the lands of the kingdom have been so. It is his duty, according to the present prerogative doctrines, not to discover, or to suffer to be discovered, any thing which may tend to clear and settle the right of the subject. He may have that in his office which would establish the very title he attempts to overthrow : But fairness in *his* situation is held to be a breach of trust, because the *crown* is always considered by these gentlemen, with respect to the *subject*, as an *adverse party*, and to exist in a state of *unremitting and immortal litigation* with the people.

Thus a mutual obedience, and a common impunity, is established between these two great powers, the T——ry and the surveyor, grounded on the favourite principle of *necessity*. The only free agent in the whole transaction is the *informer* : But he is not only as unpunishable as the others, but is highly meritorious into the bargain, for discovering what in their prerogative jargon is called a *concealment* ; that is to say, in plain English, the ancient possession and inheritance of a valuable

valuable and loyal subject. By all these means *an office of inquisition is established in the true inquisitorial spirit, and with genuine inquisitorial powers over all the landed property of England.* The use proposed to be made of it will be the subject of my next paper.

In the mean time it is a matter of very serious consideration, to observe the growth of arbitrary and despotic principles in this country: There is such a pernicious vigour in their vegetation, and such a rank luxuriance in the soil, that when they seem to be cut up even by the roots, they will suddenly shoot up in some other place, and under some other, and perhaps more dangerous appearance. Suppress them under the shape of *general warrants or seizure of papers*, they will start up in the form of *dispensing powers, forfeiture of charters, violations of public faith, establishments of private monopolies, and raising up antiquated titles for the crown.*

There is a consideration still more melancholy; that many persons, apostatizing from their principles, betraying their associates, and combining with their adversaries, make no other use of the credit they have derived from their former activity in the cause of freedom, than that they may approach it without suspicion, and wound it beyond all possibility of cure.

Public Advertiser, Feb. 4, 1768.]

MNEMON.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The following is an exact Copy of the SPEECH made by JOHN WILKES, Esq; to the Guild of Berwick, on the 16th of April, 1754, when he stood Candidate for that Borough; and is, for many Reasons, very proper to be published in your Register at this time.

GENTLEMEN,

I Beg your leave to offer myself a Candidate to represent you in parliament; I came here, with the utmost pleasure, to make you a tender of my services, from the assurances I had received of your steady attachment to the cause of liberty. I early embarked in the same generous cause, and have always

ways had it nearest to my heart. I am thoroughly sensible of the excellence of the constitution of this happy country, and my utmost efforts shall be exerted for the preservation of it. In this, and every other case, I hope to be your faithful representative; and while I am delivering your sentiments, and discharging my duty to my constituents, I shall have the satisfaction of serving a cause I have ever valued beyond every thing. If I am so happy as to succeed, I assure you, gentlemen, I shall ever be watchful over the interests of this nation in general; but the good of this corporation shall have my particular attention. It shall always be my favourite study. My warmest endeavours shall be employed for you, and I shall esteem myself happy in every opportunity of doing you a real service. Gentlemen, I come here *un-corrupted*, and I promise you, I shall ever *be uncorrupted*. As I never will *take* a bribe, so I never will *offer* one. I should think myself totally unworthy of the great and important trust I am now soliciting, if I sought to obtain it by *the violation of the laws of my country*. I hold them *sacred*; and I think the happiness and security of every man depends on the observation of them. Gentlemen, I have no private views. My sole ambition is to serve my country, and to contribute to the preservation of the invaluable privileges this nation enjoys, beyond any in the world. I shall act steadily on these principles, and therefore I hope for the honour of your protection and encouragement, and shall endeavour to convince you of my sincerest regards, and warmest gratitude.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Scheme of a Political Lottery, for the Peace of the Kingdom.

IT is proposed, on or soon after the breaking up of the present parliament, to open a lottery of 2262 tickets at 1000*l.* each, three blanks to one prize; which prize shall entitle the possessor to a seat in parliament for the place therein mentioned: by which scheme the noisy and expensive business of electioneering (which puts the whole kingdom in a ferment) will

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will be over in two hours, many people have an opportunity of serving their country cheap, and much bribery and corruption be prevented.

That the produce (deducting five per cent. to be set apart for guzzle, and to be equally distributed in every borough) be applied towards paying off the national debt. That the lottery be drawn in the court of requests, on the day appointed for the meeting of p——t, and that the members so elected do immediately adjourn to the house of commons, appoint a speaker, &c. and then proceed to business. This will effectually prevent all designs of bad ministers, and more especially if their tools should draw blanks, as no person can have more than one ticket, and that not transferable; lest the courtiers, nabobs, or adventurers, should engross the whole, and buy and sell the nation.

TO the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

IN the exhortation you addressed, in the fifth number of your Political Register, page 309, to the electors of England, you observe, that the lords had made a barrier against the increase of Scotch member in their house. At the Union, or soon after, some Scotch peers made an attempt to sit in the house as peers of England; but the house was not in a humour to receive them. But I am informed they have now found a means to bring in, if not themselves, at least their posterity, by getting their eldest sons, or their ladies, created peers or peeresses of Great-Britain. So that it seems a Scotch commoner can sit in the house by creation, though a peer born cannot; and the son can inherit from his mother, though not from his father. If these be facts, where is this mighty bulwark? We may in time see a majority of Scotch peers in the upper house, and then, I'm afraid, farewell to our liberties.

I should be glad to see some thoughts on this subject.

I am, &c. A SOUTH BRITON.



Edward the Third Seizing Mortimer.



Mortimer

*Is a great Lord of late, and a new thing:
A prince, an Earl, and Cousin to the King.*

Ben Jonson.

T H E

POLITICAL REGISTER,

For A P R I L, 1768.

N U M B E R XIII.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

An eighteen Days faithful Journal, ending a few Days previous to the New Ministry's kissing hands in 1766.

Tuesday, June 23, 1766. FROM Audley-Street, the Favourite set out about one o'clock; in a post-coach and four, for earl Litchfield's at Hampton-Court, and came home again at ten at night; went out directly after in a chair to miss V——t's, maid of honour to the P. D. of W. in Sackville-Street; staid there but a very little while, and then went to Carlton-House, and returned home about twelve o'clock.

Wednesday 24. From Audley-Street, the Favourite set out in a chair, at half past six in the evening, went into Sackville-Street; as before, staid there till past ten, then went to Carlton-House, and returned home about twelve.

Thursday 25. From ditto, the Favourite set out at half past six in the evening in a chair, went into Sackville-street as before, staid there till ten, then went to Carlton-House, and came home at twelve.

Friday 26. At seven this morning the Favourite set out from Audley-Street, for his seat in Bedfordshire.

Sunday 28. The earl returned from Bedfordshire this day to dinner; set out as before at a quarter past six for Sackville-
Vol. II. L I Street,

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Street, staid there till about ten, then went to Carlton-House, and came home at twelve.

Monday 29. From Audley-Street, the Favourite set out in a chair a quarter past six, went into Sackville-street, staid there till about ten, then went to Carlton-House, and came home as usual at twelve.

Tuesday 30. From ditto, at half past six in a chair to Sackville-Street, staid there till ten, then to Carlton-House, and thence home at twelve.

Wednesday, July 1. From ditto, ditto, ditto, and ditto.

Thursday 2. At six this morning the Favourite set out from Audley-Street for his seat in Bedfordshire.

Saturday 4. The Favourite returned to Audley-Street from ditto this day to dinner; at half past six went to Sackville-Street, staid there as usual till about ten, then to Carlton-House, and afterwards came home about twelve.

Sunday 5. At half past six to Sackville-Street as usual, about ten to Carlton-House, and home at twelve as before.

Monday 6. At three quarters past six to Sackville-Street as usual, about ten to Carlton-House, and home at twelve.

Tuesday 7. At half past six to Sackville-Street, about ten to Carlton-House, and home at twelve.

Wednesday 8. At half past six to Sackville-Street, about ten to Carlton-House, and home at twelve.

Thursday 9. This morning at seven the Favourite and his lady set out from Audley-Street for Bedfordshire.

Saturday 11. Returned this day from Bedfordshire to dinner, and, being lord Mount Stuart's birth-day, he went but at eight this evening to Sackville-Street, staid there till past ten, then went to Carlton-House, and returned home about twelve.

Sunday 12. At half past six to Sackville-Street, staid there till past ten, then to Carlton-House, and home at twelve.

Monday 13. At half past six to Sackville-Street, staid there till ten, then to Carlton-House, staid there till past twelve, and then home.

N. B. The curtains of the chair, from Audley to Sackville-Street, were constantly drawn, and the chair taken into the house.

TO the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The following authentic part of an interesting debate in the House of Commons, on the Motion for an Address, in answer to the King's Speech, on the first Day of last Session, is at your Service. Your Friend, &c.

House of Commons, 24th of November, 1767.

MR. Conway had concluded with a laboured, though not very artful, panegyric on the late Mr. Townshend. It consisted of the usual accumulation of talents, abilities, judgment, sagacity, &c. but interrupted by Mr. Conway's usual hesitation between each word, as if he doubted of the truth of what he was saying. He confessed, that "his dear lamented friend had engaged himself to prepare a plan to be submitted to parliament, for the effectual relief of the poor in the article of provisions, and he had no question that, if that great man had survived, he would have been able to perform his promise; but, unfortunately for the public, his plan was lost with him: that it was easy to find a successor to his place, but impossible to find a successor to his abilities, or one equal to the execution of his plans.—The house ought not, therefore, to be surprized, that the king's surviving servants had not yet been able to devise any scheme for the relief of the poor, although a man of Mr. Townshend's superior qualifications might have been fully equal to the task."

The house received Mr. Conway's expressions of humility with silent approbation, and seemed to agree with him in his sense of his own inferiority, and of that of his colleagues.

Mr. EDMUND BURKE then got up, and made the following excellent Speech;

Mr. Speaker,

THE condition of this country, at the conclusion of the last spring, was such as gave us strong reason to expect, that not a single moment of the interval between that period and our winter meeting would be lost or misemployed. We had a right to expect, that gentlemen, who thought themselves equal to advise about the government of the nation, would, during this period, have applied all their attention, and exerted all their efforts, to discover some effectual remedy for the national distress. For my own part, I had no doubt that, when we again met, the administration would have been ready

to lay before us some plan for a speedy relief of the people, founded upon such certain lights and informations as they alone are able to procure, and digested with an accuracy proportioned to the time they have had to consider of it: but if these were our expectations, if these were the hopes conceived by the whole house, how grievously are we disappointed! after an interval of so many months, instead of being told that a plan is formed, or that measures are taken, or, at least, that materials have been diligently collected, upon which some scheme might be founded for preserving us from famine; we see that this provident ministry, these careful providers, are of opinion, they have sufficiently acquitted themselves of their duty by advising his Majesty to recommend the matter once more to our consideration, and so endeavouring to relieve themselves from the burthen and censure, which must fall somewhere, by throwing it upon parliament. God knows in what manner they have been employed for these four months past. It appears too plainly they have done but little good—I hope they have not been busied in doing mischief; and though they have neglected every useful, every necessary occupation, I hope their leisure has not been spent in spreading corruption through the people.

Sir, I readily assent to the laborious panegyric which the hon. gentleman upon the floor has been pleased to make on a very able member of the administration whom we have lately lost: no man had a higher opinion of his talents than I had; but as to his having conceived any plan for remedying the general distress about provisions, (as the gentleman would have us understand) I see many reasons for suspecting that it could never have been the case. If that gentleman had formed such a plan, or if he had collected such materials as we are now told he had, I think it is impossible but that, in the course of so many months, some knowledge or intimation of it must have been communicated to the gentlemen who acted with him, and who were united with him, not less by friendship than by office. He was not a reserved man, and surely, Sir, his colleagues, who had every opportunity of hearing his sentiments in office, in private conversation, and in this house, must have been strangely inattentive to a man, whom they so much admired, or uncommonly dull, if they could not retain the smallest memory of his opinions on matters on which they ought naturally to have consulted him often. If he had even drawn the loosest outlines of a plan, is it conceivable that all traces of it should be so soon extinguished? To me, Sir, such an absolute oblivion seems wholly incredible. Yet, admitting the fact for a moment, what an humiliating
confession

confession is it for an administration, who have undertaken to advise about the conducting of an empire, to declare to this house, that by the death of a single man, all projects for the public good are at an end, all plans are lost, and that this loss is irreparable, since there is not a leader surviving, who is in any measure capable of filling up the dreadful vacuum !

But I shall quit this subject for the present, and, as we are to consider of an address in return to the speech from the throne, I beg leave to mention some observations occurring to me upon the speech itself, which I think I am warranted, by established practice of this house, to treat merely as the speech of the minister.

The chief and only pretended merit of the speech is, that it contains no extraordinary matter, that it can do no harm, and consequently that an address of applause upon such speech is but a mere compliment to the throne, from which no inconvenience can arise, nor consequence be drawn. Now, Sir, supposing this to be a true representation of the speech, I cannot think it does the administration any great honour, nor can I agree, that to applaud the throne for such a speech, would be attended with no inconvenience. Although an address of applause may not enter into the approbation of particular measures, yet it must unavoidably convey a general acknowledgment, at least, that things are, upon the whole, as they should be, and that we are satisfied with the representation of them, which we have received from the throne. But this, Sir, I am sure, would be an acknowledgment inconsistent with truth, and inconsistent with our own interior conviction, unless we are contented to accept of whatever the ministry please to tell us, and wilfully shut our eyes to any other species of evidence.

As to the harmlessness of the speech, I must for my own part regret the times, when speeches from the throne deserved another name than that of innocent ; when they contained some real and effectual information to this house,—some express account of measures already taken, or some positive plan of future measures, for our consideration. Permit me, Sir, to divide the present speech into three heads, and a very little attention will demonstrate how far it is from aiming at that spirit of business and energy, which formerly animated the speeches from the throne : you will see, under this division, that the small portion of matter contained in it is of such a nature, and so stated, as to preclude all possibility or necessity of deliberation in this place. The first article is, that every thing is quiet abroad. The truth of this assertion, when confirmed
by

by an enquiry, which I hope this house will make into it, would give me the sincerest satisfaction; for certainly there never was a time when the distress and confusion of the interior circumstances of this nation made it more absolutely necessary to be upon secure and peaceable terms with our neighbours: but I am a little inclined to suspect, and indeed it is an opinion too generally received, that this appearance of good understanding with our neighbours deserves the name of stagnation, rather than of tranquillity; that it is owing not so much to the success of our negotiations abroad, as to the absolute and entire suspension of them for a very considerable time. Consuls, envoys, and ambassadors, it is true, have been regularly appointed, but, instead of repairing to their stations, have, in the most scandalous manner, loitered at home; as if they had either no business to do, or were afraid of exposing themselves to the resentment or derision of the court to which they were destined. Thus have all our negotiations been conducted, and thus have they been dropped. Thus hath the Manilla ransom, that once favourite theme, that perpetual echo with some gentlemen, been consigned to oblivion. The slightest remembrance of it must not now be revived. At this rate, Sir, foreign powers may well permit us to be quiet; it would be equally useless and unreasonable in them to interrupt a tranquillity, which we submit to purchase upon such inglorious terms, or to quarrel with an humble, passive government, which hath neither spirit to assert a right, nor to resent an injury. In the distracted, broken, miserable state of our interior government, our enemies find a consolation and remedy for all that they suffered in the course of the war, and our councils amply revenge them for the successes of our arms.

The second article of the speech contains a recommendation of what concerns the dearth of corn, to our immediate and earnest deliberation. No man, Sir, is more ready than myself, as an individual, to shew all possible deference to the respectable authority under which the speech from the throne is delivered; but as a member of this house, it is my right, nay, I must think myself bound to consider it as the advice of the minister, and, upon this principle, if I would understand it rightly, or even do justice to the text, I must carry the minister's comment along with me. But what, Sir, has been the comment upon the recommendation made to us from the throne? Has it amounted to any more than a positive assurance that all the endeavours of administration to form a plan for relieving the poor in the article of provisions, have proved ineffectual.

ineffectual. That they neither have a plan, nor materials of sufficient information to lay before the house, and that the object itself is, in their apprehension, absolutely unattainable. If this be the fact, if it be really true that the minister, at the same time that he advises the throne to recommend a matter to the earnest deliberation of parliament, confesses in his comment that this very matter is beyond the reach of this house, what inference must we necessarily draw from such a text, and from such an illustration? I will not venture to determine what may be the real motive of this strange conduct and inconsistent language, but I will boldly pronounce, that it carries with it a most odious appearance. It has too much the air of a design to exculpate the crown, and the servants of the crown, at the expence of parliament. The gracious recommendation in the speech will soon be known all over the nation. The comment and true illustration added to it by one of the ministry will probably not go beyond the limits of these walls. What then must be the consequence? The hopes of the people will be raised. They of course will turn their eyes upon us, as if our endeavours alone were wanting to relieve them from misery and famine, and to restore them to happiness and plenty; and at last, when all their golden expectations are disappointed; when they find that, notwithstanding the earnest recommendation from the crown, parliament has taken no effectual measures for their relief, the whole weight of their resentment will naturally fall upon us their representatives. We need not doubt but the effects of their fury will be answerable to the cause of it. It will be proportioned to the high recommending authority, which we shall seem not to have regarded; and when a monarch's voice cries havock, will not confusion, riot, and rebellion; make their rapid progress through the land? The unhappy people, groaning under the severest distress, deluded by vain hopes from the throne, and disappointed of relief from the legislature, will, in their despair, either set all law and order at defiance; or, if the law be enforced upon them, it must be by the bloody assistance of a military hand. We have already had a melancholy experience of the use of such assistance. But even legal punishments lose all appearance of justice, when too strictly inflicted on men compelled by the last extremity of distress to incur them. We have been told, indeed, that, if the crown had taken no notice of the distress of the people, such an omission would have driven them to despair; but I am sure, Sir, that, to take notice of it in this manner, to acknowledge the evil, and to declare it to be

be without remedy, is the most likely way to drive them to something beyond despair—to madness; and against whom will their madness be directed, but against us their innocent representatives?

With respect to the third and last head, into which the speech may be divided; I readily agree that there is a cause of discord somewhere: where it is, I will not pretend to say. That it does exist is certain; and I much doubt whether it is likely to be removed by any measures taken by the present administration. As to vague and general recommendations to us to maintain unanimity amongst us, I must say I think they are become of late years too flat and stale to bear being repeated. That such are the kind sentiments and wishes of our monarch, I am far from doubting; but when I consider it as the language of the minister, as a minister's recommendation, I cannot help thinking it a vain and idle parade of words without meaning. Is it in their own conduct that we are to look for an example of this boasted union? Shall we discover any trace of it in their broken, distracted councils, their public disagreements and private animosities? Is it not notorious that they only subsist by creating divisions among others? That their plan is to separate party from party? Friend from friend? Brother from brother? Is not their very motto *divide et impera*? When such men advise us to unite, what opinion must we have of their sincerity? In the present instance, however, the speech is particularly farcical. When we are told that affairs abroad are perfectly quiet, consequently that it is unnecessary for us to take any notice of them; when we are told that there is indeed a distress at home, but beyond the reach of this house to remedy; to have unanimity recommended us in the same breath, is, in my opinion, something lower than ridiculous. If the two first propositions be true, in the name of wonder, upon what are we to debate? upon what is it possible for us to disagree? On one point our advice is not wanted; on the other it is useless: but it seems it will be highly agreeable to the ministry to have us unite in approving of their conduct; and if we have concord enough amongst ourselves to keep in unison with them and their measures, I dare say that all the purposes of administration aimed at by the address, will be fully answered, and entirely to their satisfaction. But this is a sort of union, which I hope never will, which I am satisfied never can, prevail in a free parliament like ours. While we are freemen we may disagree; but when we unite upon the terms recommended to us by the administration, we must be slaves.

TO the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

March, 1668.

I think the following Account of a Parliamentary Transaction is curious, and well worthy of a Place in your Register. *It is a true History of a Secret Committee.* I am, &c.

OUR representatives have continually in their hands the disposal of our property, and this, not only in public and national matters, but on frequent occasions, (of a more private nature indeed) yet very much affecting the properties of numberless individuals; I mean, private bills for turnpikes, enclosures, alterations of family settlements, and the like. In all these, the house of commons is under a necessity of delegating the business of enquiring into the merits, and adjusting the claims, very much to the committees; and a very great trust is therefore committed to them; but, in the case of enclosures particularly, *a member himself* may be interested, and he is at hand (if such treachery and baseness can enter into his heart) very conveniently to procure an undue advantage to himself.

Time is indeed given between the first and second reading of the bill; and again, before the committee, the consent of a considerable part of the persons interested is expected to be produced; but this consent is signed to the bill before it is filled up; and all the *dates*, *sums*, and *proportions*, and almost every thing most material to the proprietors, as well as the names of the commissioners, are left in *blank*, and inserted by the committee. All these cautions are not therefore more than enough (even if they are enough) to guard against surprize: and, after all, the proprietors are obliged to trust, for general justice, to the *supposed* fidelity, care and impartiality of the committee.

The following were related as facts in the house, and no one material article even attempted to be denied.

S I R J——L——, lord of the manor of L—h—m in S——y, applied, the last year, for an enclosure, and the petition is affirmed to have been signed by himself, the keeper of an alehouse, and two women, one of whom was employed by him, and the other kept the toll-bar of a navigation hailing-track. But the act was dropped for that session, and assurances were given that the bill should not be brought in this year, without full notice to the proprietors before any thing was done.

This year the lord of the manor petitioned *alone*, and without notice given: the bill was read a first and second time,

as fast as the forms of the house would allow; and the committee appointed to meet likewise as soon as it could, *viz.* on a Monday. The business then appeared in the votes of course, and could, therefore, be no longer a secret. So a petition against it was sent up; and was brought to be presented on the Friday next before the Monday, but was withheld, on a desire that the objectors to the bill would meet and talk with the lord of the manor on the Saturday. They flattered themselves, that if they disagreed, they might get their petition into the house before the committee sat; for the house was expected to sit earlier than usual, the king being to come to the house on Monday. They did disagree, and the lord of the manor, against all intreaty, persisted in the committee's sitting on Monday.

Committees constantly sit about twelve or one o'clock; but the old regular hour, according to the fashion of ancient times, is eight in the morning. In like manner the house is regularly adjourned till nine o'clock, but seldom gets to business till two or three o'clock in the afternoon.

Some time between eight and nine the committee did meet. The clerks were called out of their beds, and they had finished their work by nine, or soon after.—so much for *when* they did it.

Now observe *what* they did, and what they *did* not do.

They reported, as the other party alledges, a false state of the property. But this I cannot affirm, with certainty, to be true; for the house enquired not into it.

One witness only was produced to the committee, and that was the attorney to the lord of the manor.

No questions were asked, what persons *had not* been applied to, nor *why* they had not been applied to.

The committee reported, that, *no person had appeared before the committee to oppose the bill*: and indeed it was most true. The extreme diligence of the committee had secured that point. Members, however, who had the interests of their constituents in this bill to look after, thought they would make sure of being in time, and *one* was down so early as eleven o'clock, but found the business had been done two hours before.

The committee, it is affirmed, completed this transaction by filling up the *blank* of the names of the commissioners (to whose skill and integrity the great trust is committed, of allotting the property and doing careful justice to all parties) to

A cow-keeper who lives in London:

The attorney to the *lord of the manor*, the sole witness at the committee:

A young

A young man, *agent to the lord of the manor* :

A person, *gardener to the lord of the manor* :

A labouring man, who earns eight shillings a week.

Thus, after the breach of last year's promise of notice to the parties, this *sole* petitioner, the lord of the manor, with his day-break committee, without asking even the usual and *most necessary* questions, reports to the house the above respectable and *independant* commissioners, as proper persons to cut and carve the property of *unconsenting* and *uninformed* parties. *And thus they discharged their trust.*

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

On Pensions.

NOTHING is a stronger indication of the corruption of government, and that the noble sense of honour has lost its influence, than the frequent grant of pensions.

It is said, that *fifty thousand* pound per annum is not sufficient to discharge the pensions granted within these few years; exclusive of the creation of several new and useless offices, the revival of many which were obsolete, and the enormous *encrease* made to the salaries of an incredible number of others; all of which, though not *nominally*, are yet *virtually* pensions likewise.

Pensions were formerly granted as a reward for the long and faithful services of such as were grown old and incapable of duty; or as an extraordinary acknowledgment of merit, in those who particularly signalized themselves in the cause of their king and country; that they might be able to support a dignity of appearance, suitable to the splendor of their actions.

While they were thus confined, there could be no cause for murmuring at the grants, neither could they prove burthensome to the state. But whenever they were bestowed upon the unworthy, or wantonly and profusely granted through the partial influence of a minister, then our jealous ancestors were not wanting in their remonstrances; and the commons have frequently placed such lavish grants, among the principal articles of impeachment against obnoxious ministers: for they well knew, that, when the revenue was exhausted by inconsiderate pensions, the state would ultimately become the sufferer.

The multiplicity of pensions, which are every day scattered among claimants who have no title to such extraordinary liberality, is a grievance which calls for redress from the legislature. There never was more occasion to husband the revenue, and yet there was never so little attention paid to economy.

The fury of pensioning is so great, that to have been employed by a minister, though in the lowest capacity, is a sufficient recommendation to a candidate; and I should not be surprized to find a Mr. Grey Cooper, or any other dependent, upon the list, for the many memorable services he has done, in knocking down his majesty's liege subjects at so many free elections; but more particularly for his very singular valour and activity, at a late contested re-election.

If we were allowed to peruse the motley catalogue of pensioners, what a mixture of pity, contempt, and derision, should we express, upon beholding noble peers, in the list of those, who are maintained at the public expence? What respect should we pay to *their* titles, who having squandered their patrimony in folly and luxury, meanly subsist on a profuse weekly allowance, wrung from the oppressed and impoverished state?

The peers of the realm were antiently called *robur belli*, not only on account of the assistance they afforded to the king and kingdom in their own persons, but by their retinue and tenants. And in Edward the Fourth's time, when the duke of Bedford was degraded by act of parliament, the reason specified in the act was, because he had not a sufficient revenue to maintain his dignity.

When they have no tenants, nor fortunes to support their rank, it is but reasonable that they should forfeit their titles; more especially if the loss of their estates is the consequence of their own profuseness and licentiousness: for should the public revenue be fatally appropriated to maintain the pomp and equipage of nobility, when the dignity of the nobleman is lost, it might be feared that his poverty and dependence would expose him to bribery and corruption; so that he might not only prove a burthen to the state while living, but might also be basely assistant in entailing a galling yoke on posterity.

Should the rage for pensioning continue, honour will no longer be incentive to patriotism. Candidates for the high offices of state, will weigh the profits of their employments, without any view to the glory attending the discharge of their important duties. Pensions, instead of being made the reward of past services, will be basely claimed by anticipation.

Then we may have the mortification to hear—that such a one will not accept the seals, unless he has a pension secured to himself, and a place for his son—and that another will not preside in the honourable seat of judgment, but upon a previous stipulation of the same noble conditions.

All officers of the government will endeavour, as far as possible, to make the profits of their places, freeholds to themselves and their families: by which means the revenue will be loaded

loaded with accumulated salaries, to the ruin of posterity, who will have reason to exclaim

—*Omnia venalia ! Omnia exeunt in lucrum !*

Much has been said on the dissoluteness of manners and the depravity of morals which prevails among the people; and it has been affirmed by several of our best writers, that while these continue, our other grievances, of which we have so long and so loudly complained, viz. the tyranny and rapacity of ministers, the venality and ignorance of parliaments, will remain without the least attempt towards a remedy. Though every body seems unanimous in lamenting and acknowledging this to be a true picture of our present situation, yet nobody seems to reflect on the primary cause, nor to furnish the public with his sentiments where a *reformation* ought to begin. If it is not quite foreign to the plan of your work, I will give you my loose thoughts on this subject.

And first, I would ask, is it to be supposed, that when laymen of any class shall observe their guides of the church intriguing and bartering, on all hands, for mitres, stalls, fat livings, translations, pluralities, commendams, and so forth, and when they have got them, turning over the duty to ignorant, insufficient, or immoral curates and substitutes;—is it, I say, to be supposed, that the laymen will think christianity is more their concern, than it is the concern of these men who set up for teachers and examples of it?

Begin your reformation then with this class. Send the bishops down to their dioceses, and the parochial clergy to their cures. Order every churchman to his proper post, and make it as penal to him to absent himself without leave, as it is for an officer of a marching regiment. Make no man a bishop, who has not gone through the personal exercise of the lowest and most laborious offices of his calling for seven years at least. Enact a good law against translations, pluralities, commendams, and particularly the nepotism of bishops. Turn out all scandalous and insufficient ministers, if they do not reform after a first and second admonition. Let no man be ordained till he has passed through some reasonable state of probation. Take away all temptations from ambitious hypocrites of subscribing what they don't believe, or perhaps understand; and let no man receive the hire who does not labour for it. Do these and some few things more, equally necessary for the interest and honour of christianity; and I dare almost answer for the success of your reformation. For when the clergy see, that they must be confined to a system of moderation and self-denial, whether they will or no, the present set will endeavour to lay the same restraint on the avarice and sensuality of others, which are laid on their own, even though they should

should have no better motive for it than envy. Whilst they who are to succeed them, knowing these conditions to be indispensable, will sit down and count the cost; and such of them as find not sufficient opportunity of gratifying their desires in this profession, will seek it in some other, and leave this sacred province to those who are fitter and better prepared to undertake it. While the clergy are permitted to deviate so far from the original plan of their calling, it will be both a fruitless and injudicious attempt, to call other classes of men to order.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

I Sincerely congratulate you and the public upon the probability of your succeeding in your patriotic endeavours to preserve the constitution of your native country, by *securing the responsibility of members of parliament, or obliging them to follow the instructions of their constituents.*

You was, if I mistake not, the first who proposed that equitable condition in the XIth number of your Political Register; and you afterwards repeated and enforced it with additional reasons in the subsequent number. And it now gives me the highest pleasure to observe, that, amidst the great number of mercenary wretches, who are soliciting a seat in the future House of Commons, your proposal has been adopted by one worthy gentleman, I mean Sir James Cotter, one of the candidates for the city of Oxford, who, with a spirit and probity, which do honour to his character, says, *that, as he does not mean to purchase the electors, or any part of their property, so will he then (viz. on the day of election) convince them of his having no intention to sell them, by his solemnly signing and swearing a declaration, that he will, without evasion, faithfully and disinterestedly receive and execute, to the utmost of his power and abilities, their instructions and commands, for the interest of their city in particular, and of the constitution of this kingdom in general:* an offer, which, as it is the first of the kind that was ever made by any candidate, must endear his name to every lover of his country, and which, if there is the least spark of patriotism or public spirit remaining among the citizens of Oxford, must recommend him more powerfully to their favour and protection, than any other offer he could possibly have made them: an offer, I will add, which ought to be made by every candidate in the kingdom; at least, if we are yet a free people, and mean to preserve our freedom, the condition contained in it ought to be imposed by all the electors upon their several representatives.

For

For what, let me ask, are the inconveniencies that could possibly flow from such a condition? It may be said, perhaps, and indeed, Sir, either you yourself, or one of your correspondents, has said it in one of your former numbers, that it would too much retard the course of public business, which cannot always wait the slow resolutions of distant counties and boroughs. But here, I apprehend, you have made a concession, which you was under no necessity of making, and that too from a palpable mistake; I mean from not properly distinguishing between the legislative and the executive power. The latter, it is certain, sometimes requires the greatest dispatch; as it may be absolutely necessary for the safety of the state, that an army should be raised, a fleet equipped, or a treaty concluded, not only without loss of time, but even without discovering the purpose for which such measures are adopted. But neither can an army be raised, a fleet equipped, nor even sometimes a treaty concluded, without money; and the power of levying money the parliament has reserved to itself. What, therefore, must the government do in such an emergency? Must it wait the dilatory, and perhaps contradictory, resolutions of all the counties, cities, and boroughs in the kingdom; and thereby lose the only opportunity it may ever have of striking a stroke of the utmost importance to the nation? No, Sir! if the measure proposed be evidently calculated for the good of the public, let the government boldly venture upon the execution of it, and trust, as it may safely trust, that the money necessary for defraying the expence, will be cheerfully granted by the *representatives of the people, acting according to the instructions of their constituents*. The people are not such arrant dunces as the generality of our governors would willingly represent them. They very well know what is for their interest; and they will never refuse to bear any expence, however great, that is absolutely necessary for promoting that interest. But if the measure proposed, instead of being advantageous, is manifestly detrimental to the public, then it is proper that the government should have some such check upon it, as the one here suggested.

Had such a check been established at the beginning of the present century, or even at the beginning of the last war, we should not have seen so many millions of treasure needlessly sunk in the devouring gulph of a German war, nor our national debt now encreased to the enormous sum of one hundred and thirty millions sterling. We should not have seen such immense fortunes suddenly raised by the servants of the public, that they are now become the lordly Masters of that very public, whom, but a few years ago, they were
willing

willing to serve : fortunes so immense, and attended with such a dangerous influence, that the possessors of them are enabled to purchase the liberty, the property, nay almost the lives, at least the security of the lives, of those very persons, from whom they received their fortunes. So that our condition is even worse than that of Rome described by the Numidian prince, where he says, *omnia venalia Romæ ; & urbem cito perituram, si emptorem invenerit*. All things are now as *venal* in England as they then were at Rome ; and, what is yet worse, we have even persons who are able to make the purchase ; nay, what may be considered as the most intolerable part of our misery, we have persons who are able, from the very spoils and plunder of their Country, to buy, and of consequence, to sell their country. Such are the blessed effects of allowing parliaments to levy money without the consent of the people ! and all too on the pretext (I will venture to say in most cases the frivolous pretext) of the dispatch that is necessary in the executive part of the government : for it may be safely affirmed, that of all the various schemes adopted by the ministry, there is not one in a hundred but may very well wait the resolutions of the parliament, as it is here proposed to be modelled.

But whatever dispatch the executive power may sometimes require, the legislative ought always to proceed with the utmost caution and deliberation. The making of new laws, or the imposing of new taxes, are matters of too much consequence to be transacted in a hurry. The liberty and property of the subject are things of too precious and sacred nature to be needlessly abridged, or wantonly invaded. But the truth is, we now make and unmake laws, impose and repeal taxes, with as much hurry and indifference, nay indeed with more hurry and indifference, than we play a game at hazard, or run a race at New-Market. Nor can it, in reality, be deemed in the least surprizing, that we act in this manner. For our legislators, who are but a mere handful, and in fact nothing more than a drop in the ocean, when compared with the whole body of the people, are secured against the effects of most laws by the numerous privileges with which they are invested : and as to their being obliged to pay their proportion of the taxes they impose, they very well know, at least the majority of them know, that they shall receive, from the profits of their places and pensions, *twenty shillings for every one* they may happen to pay in taxes.

The other objections against the scheme here proposed, and the many great advantages that would evidently result from it, I may perhaps consider in some subsequent letter. In the mean time. I am, Sir, your's,

R. S.
For

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

SIR,

Inclosed I send you, for your useful work, a correct and finished copy of the Dedication to the Play of the *Fall of Mortimer*.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

The passages which are now the Editor has distinguished with inverted commas.

To the Right Honourable JOHN "STUART,"
Earl of BUTE,

Chancellor of the University of ABERDEEN in SCOTLAND, first Commissioner of the TREASURY in ENGLAND, one of the sixteen Representatives of the Peers of SCOTLAND, one of his MAJESTY'S most honourable PRIVY COUNCIL, and KNIGHT of the most noble ENGLISH Order of the GARTER.

MY LORD,

MANY and various motives have concurred to give a peculiar propriety to the fond wish I had formed of making this humble offering "at" the shrine of BUTE. I have felt an honest indignation at all the invidious, "unjust" and odious applications of the story of ROGER MORTIMER. I absolutely disclaim the most distant allusion, and I purposely dedicate *this Play* to your Lordship, because history does not furnish a more striking contrast, than there is between the two ministers in the reigns of *Edward the Third*, and of *George the Third*. "I shall trace this through a variety of the most interesting particulars, secure of the satisfaction your Lordship will find by the accompanying me in so pleasant a pursuit."

"Edward the Third" was held in the most absolute slavery by his mother and her minister, the first nobles of *England* were excluded from the king's councils, and the minion disposed of all places of profit and trust. The king's uncles did not retain the shadow of power and authority. "They" were treated with insult, and the whole royal family "became" not only depressed, but forced to depend upon the caprice of an insolent favourite. The young king had been victorious over the *Scots*, "then a fierce, savage and perfidious people," who were in *that* reign our cruel enemies, though happily in *this* our dearest friends. On every favour-

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able

able opportunity, either by the distractions in the public councils "of this kingdom," during a minority, or by the absence of the national troops, they had ravaged *England* with fire and sword. *Edward* might have compelled them to accept of any terms, "so glorious and decisive was the success of his arms," but *ROGER MORTIMER*, from personal motives of his own power and ambition, hastily concluded an ignominious peace, by which he sacrificed "the sacred triumphs of a prosperous war, and the justest claims of conquest."

It is with the highest rapture, "my Lord," I now look back to that disgraceful æra, "because I feel the striking contrast it makes," with the halcyon days of *George the Third*. This excellent prince is held in no kind of captivity. All his nobles have free access to him. The throne is not now besieged. Court-favour, not confined to one partial stream, flows in a variety of different channels, enriching *this* whole country. There is now the most perfect union among all the branches of the royal family. No court minion now finds it necessary for the preservation of his own omnipotence, by the vilest insinuations, to divide either the royal, or any noble families. The king's uncle is now treated with that marked distinction which his singular merit is entitled to, both from the nation, and the throne, established by his valour in extinguishing a foul rebellion, which burst upon us from its native North, and almost overspread the land. Our sovereign is conscious that he owes more to our great deliverer than any prince in *Europe* owes to any subject; and he sets a noble example of gratitude to princes, *que les rois, ces illustres ingrats, sont assez malheureux pour ne connaître pas* *. No favourite now has trampled upon the most respectable of the *English* nobility, and driven them from their sovereign's councils. No discord now rages in the kingdom, but every tongue blesses the minister who has so many ways endeared himself no less to the nobility than to the whole body of the people. *Primores populi arripuit, populumque tributim*. To complete the contrast, we have now an advantageous, a glorious peace, fully adequate to all the successes, to all the glories of the war.

The internal policy of this kingdom, "my Lord," is equally to be admired. Our gracious sovereign maturely examines all matters of national importance, and no unfair or partial representation of any business, or of any of his subjects, is suffered to be made to him, nor can any character be assassinated in the dark, by an unconstitutional *Prime minister*. He regularly, by your advice, attends every private council of

* *Vollaire*.

real moment, and nothing is there submitted to the arbitrary decision of *one man*. This happy state of things we owe to your lordship's *unexampled care* of his majesty's youth. The "important" promise you made us, that we should frequently see our sovereign, like his great predecessor, *William the Third*, presiding in person at the *British treasury*, has been fulfilled to the advantage and glory of these times, and to the perfecting of that scheme of *economy* so earnestly recommended from the throne, so *ably* carried into execution by *yourself*, and *YOUR chancellor of the exchequer**, as well as so *minutely* by the lord steward of the household†. Your whole council of state too, is composed of men of the first abilities; the Duke of *Bedford*, the Earls of *Halifax*, *Egremont*, and *Gower*; the Lords *Henley*, *Mansfield*, and *Ligonier*; Mr. *George Grenville*, and Mr. *Fox*. The business of this great empire is not however entirely trusted to them: the most arduous and complicate parts are not only digested and prepared, but finally revised and settled, by *Gilbert Elliot*, *Alexander Wedderburn*, Esqrs; Sir *Henry Erskine*, Bart. and the *Home*‡.

Another reason why I chuse your Lordship for the subject of this dedication, is that you are said, by former dedicators, to cultivate with success the polite arts. "How sparing and penurious is this praise? Such literary *economy* is really odious." They ought to have gone further, and to have shewn how liberally you are pleased to reward all men of genius. *Malloch* § and the *Home* have been nobly provided for.

Churchill

* "Sir Francis Dashwood, now Lord Le Despencer, who from puzzling all his life at tavern bills, was called by lord Bute to administer the finances of a kingdom above an hundred millions in debt, and stiled by him, in the royal manner, my Chancellor."

† "Earl Talbot, who thought a civil list of 800,000l. a year, insufficient to keep up the hospitality of a private nobleman's kitchen, in the king of England's palace."

‡ "The Rev. John Home, Esq; first a preacher among the Scottish Presbyterians, then a Play-wright. This Preacher, like the famous Thresher, the blind cobbler, and others, was at the beginning looked upon as a prodigy of genius and learning, from having produced one tolerable piece. He went on, and it was soon seen how mean and contemptible his talents were. He sunk into obscurity, and his fame, like the torrent he speaks of in *Douglas's*,
Infused SILENCE with a STILLY * SOUND."

* Var. Left. SILLY.

§ "David Malloch, author of many forgotten poems and plays, was formerly an usher to a school in Scotland. On his arrival from the North, he became a great declaimer at the London coffee-

Churchill or Armstrong write like them, your lordship's classical taste will relish their works, and patronize the authors. You, my lord, are said to be not only a *Patron*, but a *Judge*, and Malloch adds, that he wishes "for the honour of our country, that this praise were not, *almost exclusively*, your own," I wish too, for the honour of my country, and to preserve your lordship from the contagion of a malignant *envy*, that you would not again give *permission* to a *Scottish* scribbler to sacrifice almost the whole body of *our* nobility and gentry to his itch of panegyric on you, of pay from you; and I submit, whether a future inconvenience may not result from so remarkable an instance how certain and speedy the way to obtain the *last* is, by means of the *first*.

"Almost all the sciences, my Lord, have made so great a progress in England, that we are become the subjects of jealousy to the rest of Europe, but under" your auspices, *Botany* and *Tragedy* have reached the utmost height of perfection. Not only the *System of Power*, but the *Vegetable System* has been completed by the joint labours of your lordship, and the great Doctor Hill. *Tragedy* under Malloch and the *Home* has surpassed the *Greek* model, and united the different

branches of the Christian religion. Old surly Dennis was highly offended at his conduct, and always called him *Moloch*. He then changed his name to *Mallet*, and soon after published, *An Epistle to the Pope on Verbal Criticism*. Theobald was attacked in it, and soon revenged himself in the new edition of Shakespeare: "An anonymous writer has, like a *Scotch pedlar*, in wit, unbraced his pack on the subject. I may fairly say of this author, as Falstaffe does of Poins—Hang him, baboon! his wit is as thick as Tewksbury mustard, there is no more conceit in him than a *mallet*." *Preface*, p. 52. *Edition of 1733*.

"This Malloch had the happiness of a wife who had faith enough. She believed that her husband was the greatest poet and wit of the age. Sometimes she would seize and kiss his hand with rapture, and if the looks of a friend expressed any surprise, would apologize, *that it was the dear hand that wrote those divine poems*. She once lamented to a Lady, how much the reputation of her husband suffered by his name being so frequently confounded with that of Dr. Smollet. The lady answered, *Madam, there is a short remedy, let your husband keep to his own name*."

"The same man published Lord Bolingbroke's Posthumous Works, for which a presentment was made against him by the *Grand Jury of Middlesex*. Pensioner Johnson said, that Lord Bolingbroke had charged a blunderbuss with all manner of combustibles against the human race, that he dared not let it off himself, but had hired a rascal to pull the trigger."

In the octavo Abridgment of Johnson's Dictionary, is an article of "alias for otherwise, as *Mallet* otherwise *Malloch*."

merits

merits of the great moderns. The fire of *Shakespeare*, and the correctness of *Racine*, have met in your two countrymen. One other exotic too I must not forget: *Arthur Murphy*, Gent. He has the additional merit of *acting* no less than of *writing*, so as to touch in the most exquisite manner all the fine feelings of the human frame. I have scarcely ever felt myself more forcibly affected, than by this poor neglected player, except a few years ago at the Duchess of *Queensberry's*, where your lordship so frequently *exhibited*. In one part, which was remarkably *humane* and *amiable**, you were so great, that the general exclamation was, *here you did not act*. In another part you were no less perfect. I mean in the famous scene of *Hamlet*, where you pour *fatal poison into the ear* of a good unsuspecting king. If the great names of *MURPHY* and *BUTE*, as players, *pensantur eodem trutinâ*, it is no flattery to say that you, my lord, were not only superior, but even unrivalled by him, as well as by all who have ever appeared on the great stage of the world. As a *writer*, I take Mr. *Murphy* rather to excel you, except in points of *Orthography*: as an *actor*, he can form no pretension to an equality. *Nature* indeed in her utmost *simplicity* we admire in Mr. *Murphy*; but *art, art*, characterizes your lordship.

This too gives your lordship a claim to the dedication of this *Play*. You are perfect in every thing respecting the powers of *acting*. Your whole mind has been formed to it. All your faculties have been directed to this important object. While Mr. *Pitt*, Lord *Temple*, and others, your cotemporaries, were preparing themselves for the national business of parliament, and already taking a distinguished part there, you, after a seven years *SERVICE* in the *House of Peers*, condescended to tread many a private stage in the high buskins of pompous, sonorous tragedy. With what superior success I record with pleasure. Mr. *Pitt* and his noble brother are now both in a private station. You have, *almost exclusively*, the smiles of your sovereign; they only the empty applause of their country. This too they share with others; a *Duke of Newcastle* and *Devonshire*; a *Marquis of Rockingham*, an *Earl of Hardwick*; and the two spirited, young nobles, who stand so high in fame and virtue, whom *England* glories that she can call her own, the *Dukes of Grafton* and *Portland*. These distinguished characters must ever be respected by your lordship, for their ardent love of our *Sovereign* and of *Liberty*, and honoured by this nation as the declared, determined, and combined enemies of despotic, insolent, contemptible *favouritism*.

* Lord Butë acted *Lotbario* remarkably well. It was the expression of *Frédéric*, prince of Wales, echoed by the public, *Here Butë does not act*.

As *Tragedy* and *Batany* have thus reared their heads, give me leave to recommend to your lordship one important point respecting the *Sciences*, and the *Belles Lettres*, which still remains unsettled : I mean *Orthography*. The *French Academy* has fixed it for their nation ; yet a bold modern, *Voltaire*, has dared to deviate from their rules, and has endeavoured to establish a new *Orthography*, still nearer approaching to the modern pronunciation. I have seen, and admired ; some curious specimens of your Lordship's labours of this kind, most happily adapted even to the female mode of pronunciation, which, "surely" with me, as well as with a polite nobleman, must ever bear the palm, if not of correctness, yet of grace and elegance. Indeed, my Lord, the *letters* "to which" I allude, are so curious, that I wish for a *fac simile* of them, as we have of one of the famous *genuine letters* of your countryman *Archibald Bower*. They would, I am persuaded, excel all the curious manuscripts of this kind in your own University of *Aberdeen*, or among the immense collection of learned books of your late valuable purchase, the *Argyle* library. May I not therefore hope that as the *Definitive Treaty* is now signed, your Lordship's labours will be directed to this important point, and that we may expect to see a complete *Orthographical Dictionary*, to determine the knotty point of *Britain* for *Briton*, which has of late puzzled that great writer, the great *BRITON* himself*, notwithstanding the excellence of his *Scottish* education ? Ease and elegance will, I am persuaded, still attend your Lordship as inseparably as they have ever done, nor will you in this case be in danger of being forsaken by them, when, as *Benedict* (or, if you please, in your own botanical phrase, *Carduus Benedictus*) says, *now he is turned Orthographer, his words are a very fantastical banquet, just so many strange dishes*.

I should have added, my Lord, that the *Play* I make an offering of is a *Tragedy*, the most *grave* and *moral* of all poems, and therefore with a happy propriety comes inscribed to your Lordship, the most *grave*, the most *moral* of all men. A *tritty comedy*, I would never have offered to your Lordship, nor indeed to any of your countrymen. Wit is an *ignis fatuus*, which bewilders and leads us astray. It is the *primrose path*, which conducts us to folly. Your Lordship has never deviated into it. You have marched on with solemn dignity, keeping

* Those endearing words, *Born and educated in this country*, I glory in the name of *Britain*, were seen by several, in the above royal Orthography, of *Britain* for *Briton*, and some pretended to give an *Icon Basilike* of his sacred majesty King George the third, from one single word, the *Political* writer, the *Briton* in several passages followed the royal Orthography.

ing ever the true *tragic* step, and have on the greatest occasions (SO known, SO honoured—in the house of Lords*) exhibited to the world what you learned on the stage, the most pompous diction with the boldest theatrical swell, infinitely superior to all the light airs of wit or humour. The easy *sack* of laughing comedy you never condescended to wear.

I have one thing more to urge to your Lordship. The *Play* is quite imperfect. Your Lordship loves the stage: so does Mr. *Murphy*. Let me intreat your Lordship to assist your friend in perfecting the weak scenes of this *Tragedy*, and from these crude labours of *Ben Johnson* and others, to give us a compleat *Play*. It is the warmest wish of my heart, that the Earl of BUTE may speedily compleat the story of ROGER MORTIMER. I hope that your Lordship will graciously condescend to undertake this arduous task, to which, parts like your's are so peculiarly adapted. A variety of anecdotes in real life will supersede the least necessity of poetical fiction. To you every thing will be easy. The fifth *Act* of this *Play* will find talents great as your's still in full vigour, even after you have run so wonderful a career. If more important concerns, either of business, or amusement, engage you too much, I beg, my Lord, that you will please royally to COMMAND Mr. *Murphy*, as Mr. *Macpherson* says you COMMANDED him to publish the *prose-poems* of *Fingal* and *Temora*. Such a work will immortalize your glory in the literary, as the *Peace of Paris* will in the political world, and when the name of ROGER MORTIMER shall be mentioned, that of BUTE will follow in the latest times†.

Give

* A line of Mr. *Pope*, speaking of Lord Mansfield.

† This idea does not seem to be disagreeable to the noble Lord, if the following passage of a late French Journal be true. “ We hear with pleasure, of the progress of the polite arts even to *ultima Thule*. We are informed from the north of Scotland, that at Mount Stewart, in the isle of Bute, is lately finished a superb cenotaph, of the finest statuary marble; the design is best explained in the inscription.

Felici Genio
et

Aeternæ Famae
ROGERI MORTIMER

Comiti de March

Quod monstravit viam

... Hoc quale cumque grati animi et honoris monumentum

Posuit

Johannes Stuart

Comes de Bute.?

Give me leave now, my Lord, to offer my thanks as an *Englishman*, for your public conduct. At your *accession* to power, you found us a distracted, disunited nation. The late abandoned *minister of the people* had wickedly extended every art of corruption through all ranks of men, the senate not "excepted": I speak of the *late venal* parliament. You, my Lord, have made us an united and happy nation. Corruption *started like a guilty thing*, upon your summons of Mr. Fox, nor have I heard of a single instance of any undue, unconstitutional influence exerted in the senate. I now speak of the *present, virtuous* parliament. Your Lordship too from every foreign court has received the most flattering testimonies of an unbounded confidence in your *veracity* and *good faith*, equal to their just sense of your *transcendant abilities*.

I beg pardon, my Lord, for having so long detained the *patriot* minister of the *patriot* king, from the great scenes of *foreign* business, or the rooting out corruption *at home*, or the *innocent* employments of his leisure hours. I hope Doctor *Hill*, and the *Home* will forgive me, and that the great triumvirate having completed a *glorious* and *permanent* peace, may in *learned ease*, under the shade of their own *olive*, soon enjoy the full sweets of their own philosophy; for as *Candide* observes, *Cela est bien dit, MAIS IL FAUT CULTIVER NOTRE JARDIN*. In your softer, *more envied* hours of retirement, I wish you, my Lord, the most exquisite pleasures under the shade of the *Cyprian Myrtle*. Your *patriot* moments will be passed under the shade of your *Scottish Fir*.

I will no longer intrude on your Lordship. The *Cocoa Tree* and your countrymen may be impatient to settle with you the *army* and the *finances* of *this* kingdom. I have only to add my congratulations on the peculiar *fame* you have acquired, so adequate to the wonderful acts of your administration. You are in full possession of that *fame* at the head of *Tories* and *Scotsmen*; but alas! my Lord, how fantastic as well as transitory is *fame*! *The meanest have their day*—and though Mr. Pitt is now adored, as the head of *Whigs* and *Englishmen*, *the greatest can but blaze and pass away*.

I am, with a zeal and respect equal to your virtues,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Very humble Servant.

March 15. 1763.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

SIR,

I have sent you a Copy of Lord MOLESWORTH's valuable PREFACE to *Hoteman's Franco-Gallia*, (a book that is now become extremely scarce) which I have taken from the Second Edition, printed in the Year 1721: But the Preface was written in 1705.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant, &c.

MANY books and papers have been published since the late *revolution*, tending to justify the proceedings of the people of *England* at that happy juncture; by setting in a true light our just rights and liberties, together with the solid foundation of our *constitution*; which, in truth, is not our's only, but that of almost all Europe besides; so wisely restored and established (if not introduced) by the *Goths* and *Franks*, whose descendants we are.

These books have as constantly had some things, called *answers*, written to them, by persons of different sentiments; who certainly either never seriously considered that they were thereby endeavouring to destroy their own happiness, and overthrow her majesty's title to the crown; or, if they knew what they did, presumed upon the lenity of that government they decried; which, were there no better reason, ought to have recommended it to their approbation, since it could patiently bear with such as were doing all they could to undermine it.

Not to mention the railing, virulence, or personal false reflections in many of those answers, (which are always a sign of a weak cause, or a feeble champion) some of *them* asserted the *divine right* of an *hereditary monarch*, and the impiety of *réistance* upon any terms whatever, notwithstanding any *authorities* to the contrary.

Others (and those the more judicious) denied positively that sufficient *authorities* could be produced to prove, that a *free people* have a *just power* to defend themselves, by opposing their *prince*, who endeavours to oppress and enslave them; and alledged, that whatever was said or done, tending that way, proceeded from a spirit of *rebellion*, and *antimonarchical principles*.

To confute, or convince this last sort of arguers, (the first not being worthy to have notice taken of them) I set about translating the *Franco-Gallia* of that most learned and judicious

civilian, Francis Hotoman, a grave, ſincere, and unexceptionable author, even in the opinion of his adverſaries. This book gives an account of the ancient *free ſtate* of above three parts in four of Europe; and has of a long time appeared to me ſo convincing and inſtructive in thoſe important points he handles, that I could not be idle whiſt it remained unknown, in a manner, to *Engliſhmen*: Who, of all people living, have the greateſt reaſon and need to be thoroughly inſtructed in what it contains; as having, on the one hand, the moſt to loſe, and, on the other, the leaſt ſenſe of their right to that, which hitherto they ſeem (at leaſt in great meaſure) to have preſerved.

It will be obvious to every reader, that I have taken no great pains to write elegantly. What I endeavour at, is as plain a ſtile as poſſible, which on this occaſion I take to be the beſt: for ſince the inſtruction of mankind ought to be the principal drift of all writers (of hiſtory eſpecially) whoever writes to the capacity of moſt readers, in my opinion, moſt fully anſwers the end.

I am not ignorant, how tireſome and difficult a piece of work it is to *translate*, nor how little valued in the world. My experience has convinced me, that it is more troubleſome and teazing than to write and invent at once. The idiom of the language out of which one tranſlates, runs ſo in the head, that it is next to impoſſible not to fall frequently into it. And the more bald and incorrect the ſtile of the original is, the more ſhall that of the tranſlation be ſo too. Many of the quotations in this book are drawn from prieſts, monks, friars, and civil lawyers, who minded more, in thoſe barbarous ages, the ſubſtance than the ſtile of their writings: and I hope theſe conſiderations may atone for ſeveral faults, which might be found in my ſhare of the work.

But I deſire not to be miſunderſtood, as if, whiſt I am craving favour for myſelf, I were making any apology for ſuch a number of mercenary ſcribblers, animadverters and tranſlators, as peſter us in this age; who generally ſpoil the good books which fall into their hands, and hinder others from obliging the public, who otherwiſe would do it to greater advantage.

I take this author to be one of thoſe few, that has had the good luck to eſcape them; and I make uſe of this occaſion to declare, that the chief motive which induces me to ſend abroad this ſmall treatiſe, is a ſincere deſire of inſtructing the only poſſeſſors of true liberty in the world, what right and title they have to that liberty; of what a great value it is; what miſery follows the loſs of it; how eaſily, if care be taken in time, it may be preſerved: and if this either opens the eyes, or confirms the honourable reſolutions of any of my worthy countrymen,

countrymen, I have gained a glorious end : and done that in my study, which I should have promoted any other way, had I been called to it. I hope to die with the comfort of believing that *old England* will continue to be a free country, and *know* itself to be *such*; that my friends, relations, and children, with their posterity, will inherit their share of this inestimable blessing, and that I have contributed my part to it.

But there is one very great discouragement under which both I, and all other writers and translators of books, tending to the acquiring or preserving the publick liberty, do lie; and that is, the heavy calumny thrown upon us, that we are all *common-wealth's-men* : which (in the ordinary meaning of the word) amounts to *haters* of *kingly* government; not without broad malicious insinuations, that we are no great friends of the present.

Indeed were the *laity* of our nation (as too many of our *clergy* unhappily are) to be guided by the sense of one of our universities, solemnly and publickly declared by the burning of twenty seven propositions (some of them deserving that censure, but others being the very foundation of all our civil rights;) I, and many like me, would appear to be very much in the wrong. But since the *Revolution* in eighty eight, that we stand upon another and better bottom, *tho' no other than our own old one*, 'tis time that our *notions* should be suited to our *constitution*. And truly, as matters stand, I have often wondered, either how so many of our gentlemen, educated under such prejudices, should retain any sense at all of liberty; for, *the hardest lesson is to unlearn* : or how an education so diametrically opposite to our bill of rights, should be so long encouraged.

Methinks a *civil test* might be contrived, and prove very convenient to distinguish those that own the *revolution principles*, from such as tooth and nail oppose them; and at the same time do fatally propagate doctrines, which lay too heavy a load upon *christianity* itself, and make us prove our own executioners.

The names of *whig* and *tory* will, I am afraid, last as long among us, as those of *Guelf* and *Ghibelline* did in *Italy*. I am sorry for it : but to some they become necessary for distinction sake; not so much for the principles formerly adapted to each name, as for particular and worse reasons. For there has been such chopping and changing both of names and principles, that we scarce know who is who. I think it therefore necessary, in order to appear in my own colours, to make a public profession of my *political faith*; not doubting but it may agree in several particulars with that of many worthy persons, who are as undeservedly aspersed as I am.

My notion of a *whig*, I mean of a real *whig*, for the *nomi-*
O o 2
nal

nal are worse than any sort of men, is, that he is one who is exactly for keeping up to the strictness of the true old *Gothic constitution*, under the three estates of king (or queen) lords and commons; the *legislature* being seated in all three together, the *executive* intrusted with the first, but accountable to the whole body of the people, in case of mal-administration.

A true *whig* is of opinion, that the *executive* power has as just a title to the *allegiance* and obedience of the subject, according to the *rules of known laws enacted by the legislative*, as the *subject* has to *protection, liberty and property*: and so on the contrary.

A true *whig* is not afraid of the name of a *commonwealthsman*, because so many foolish people, who know not what it means, run it down: the *anarchy* and *confusion* which these nations fell into near sixty years ago, and which was *falsely* called a *commonwealth*, frightening them out of the *true* construction of the word. But queen *Elizabeth*, and many other of our best princes, were not scrupulous of calling our government a *commonwealth*, even in their solemn speeches to parliament. And indeed if it be not one, I cannot tell by what name properly to call it: for where in the very *frame* of the *constitution*, the good of the *whole* is taken care of by the *whole* (as in our case) the having a *king* or *queen* at the head of it, alters not the case; and the softening of it by calling it a *limited monarchy* seems a kind of contradiction in terms, invented to please some weak and doubting persons.

And because some of our *princes* in this last age, did their utmost endeavour to destroy this union and harmony of the *three estates*, and to be *arbitrary* or *independent*, they ought to be looked upon as the *aggressors* upon our constitution.

This drove the other *two estates* (for the sake of the publick preservation) into the fatal necessity of providing for themselves, and when once the wheel was set a running, 'twas not in the power of man to stop it just where it ought to have stopped. This is so ordinary in all violent motions, whether mechanick or political, that no body can wonder at it.

But no wise men approved of the ill effects of those violent motions either way, could they have helped them. Yet it must be owned they have (as often as used, through an extraordinary piece of good fortune) brought us back to our old constitution again, which else had been lost; for there are numberless instances in history of a downfall from a state of *liberty* to *tyranny*, but very few of a recovery of *liberty* from *tyranny*, if this last have had any length of time to fix itself and take root.

Let all such, who either through interest or ignorance are adorers of *absolute monarchs*, say what they please; an *English whig* can never be so unjust to his country, and to right reason,

reason, as not to be of opinion, that in all civil commotions, which ſide ſoever is the *wrongful aggreſſor*, is accountable for all the evil conſequences : and through the courſe of his reading (tho' my lord *Clarendon's* books be thrown into the heap) he finds it very difficult to obſerve, that ever the people of *England* took up arms againſt their *prince*, but when conſtrained to it by a neceſſary care of their *liberties* and true *conſtitution*.

'Tis certainly as much *treason* and *rebellion* againſt this *conſtitution*, and the *known laws*, in a *prince* to endeavour to break through them, as 'tis in the *people* to riſe againſt him, whiſt he keeps within their bounds, and does his duty. Our conſtitution is a government of *laws*, not of *perſons*. *Allegiance* and *protection* are obligations that cannot ſubſiſt ſeparately ; when one fails, the other falls of courſe. The true Etymology of the word *loyalty* (which has been ſo ſtrangely wreſted in the late reigns) is an entire obedience to the prince in all his commands according to *law* ; that is, to the *laws themſelves*, to which we owe both an active and paſſive obedience.

By the old and true maxim, that *the king can do no wrong*, no body is ſo fooliſh as to conclude, that he has no ſtrength to murder, to offer violence to women, or power enough to diſpoſſeſs a man wrongfully of his eſtate ; or that whatever he does (how wicked ſoever) is juſt : but the meaning is, he has no *lawful power* to do ſuch things, and our conſtitution conſiders no power as *irreſiſtible*, but what is *lawful*.

And ſince *religion* is become a great and univerſal concern, and drawn into our government, as it affects every ſingle man's conſcience ; tho' in my private opinion, they ought not to be mingled, nor to have any thing to do with each other ; (I do not ſpeak of our church polity, which is part of our ſtate, and dependent upon it) ſome account muſt be given of that matter.

Whiggism is not circumscribed and confined to any one or two of the *religions* now profeſſed in the world, but diffuſes itſelf among all. We have known *Jews*, *Turks*, nay ſome *Papiſts*, (which I own to be a *great rarity*) very great lovers of the conſtitution and liberty : and, were there *rational* grounds to expect that any *numbers* of them could be ſo, I ſhould be againſt uſing ſeverities or diſtinctions upon account of religion. For, a *Papiſt* is not dangerous, nor ought to be ill-uſed by any body, becauſe he prays to ſaints, believes purgatory, or the real preſence in the eucharift, and pays divine worſhip to an image or picture (which are the common topics of our writers of controverſy againſt the *Papiſts* ;) but becauſe popery ſets up a *foreign juriſdiction paramount to our laws*. So that a *real Papiſt* can neither be a true governor of a *Proteſtant* country, nor a true ſubject ; and, be-
ſides

sides, is the moſt *prieſt-ridden* creature in the world : and, (when uppermoſt) can bear with no body that differs from him in opinion ; little conſidering, that whoſoever is againſt *liberty of mind*, is, in effect, againſt *liberty of body* too. And therefore all penal *acts of parliament*, for opinions *purely* religious, which have no influence on the *ſtate*, are ſo many encroachments upon *liberty*, whiſt thoſe which reſtrain vice and injuſtice, are againſt *licentiousneſs*.

I profeſs myſelf to have always been a member of the *church of England*, and am for ſupporting it in all its *honours, privileges, and revenues* ; but as a *chriſtian* and a *whig*, I muſt have charity for thoſe that differ from me in *religious* opinions, whether *Pagans, Turks, Jews, Papiſts, Quakers, Socinians, Presbyterians*, or others. I look upon *bigotry* to have always been the very bane of human ſociety, and the offspring of intereſt and ignorance, which has occaſioned moſt of the great miſchiefs that have afflicted mankind. We ought no more to expect to be all of one opinion, as to the worſhip of the *Deity*, than to be all of one colour or ſtature. To ſtretch or narrow any man's conſcience to the ſtandard of our own, is no leſs a piece of cruelty than that of *Procrustes* the tyrant of *Attica*, who uſed to fit his gueſts to the length of his own iron bedſtead, either by cutting them ſhorter, or racking them longer. What juſt reaſon can I have to be angry with, to endeavour to curb the natural liberty, or to retrench the civil advantages, of an honeſt man, (who follows the golden rule, of *doing to others, as he would have others do to him*, and is willing and able to ſerve the public) only becauſe he thinks his way to heaven ſurer or ſhorter than mine ? No body can tell which of us is miſtaken, till the day of judgment, or whether any of us be ſo (for there may be different ways to the ſame end, and I am not for circumscribing God-Almighty's mercy :) This I am ſure of, one ſhall meet with the ſame poſitivenefs in opinion, in ſome of the prieſts of all theſe ſects ; the ſame want of charity, engroſſing heaven by way of *monopoly* to their own *corporation*, and managing it by a joint ſtock, excluſive of all others, (as pernicious in divinity as in trade, and perhaps more,) the ſame pretences to *miracles, martyrs, inſpirations, merits, mortifications, revelations, auſterity, antiquity*, &c. (as all perſons converſant with hiſtory, or that travel, know to be true) and this, *cui bono* ? I think it the honour of the reformed part of the *chriſtian* profeſſion, and the church of *England* in particular, that it pretends to fewer of theſe unuſual and extraordinary things than any other religion we know of in the world ; being convinced, that theſe are not the diſtinguiſhing marks of the truth of any religion (I mean, the aſſuming obſtinate pretences to them are not ;) and it were not amiſs, if we farther enlarged our charity, when

when we can do it with *safety*, or advantage to the *ſtate*.

Let us but conſider, how hard and how impolittick it is to condemn all people but ſuch as think of the divinity juſt as we do. May not the tables of perfecution be turned upon us? a *Mahometan* in *Turky* is in the right, and I (if I carry my own religion thither) am in the wrong. They will have it ſo. If the *Mahometan* comes with me to *Chriſtendom*, I am in the right, and he in the wrong; and hate each other heartily for differing in ſpeculations, which ought to have no influence on moral honeſty. Nay, the *Mahometan* is the more charitable of the two, and does not puſh his zeal ſo far; for the chriſtians have been more cruel and ſevere in this point than all the world beſides. Surely reprisals may be made upon us; as Calvin burnt *Servetus* at *Geneva*, queen *Mary* burnt *Cranmer* at *London*. I am ſorry I cannot readily find a more exact parallel. The ſword cuts with both edges. Why, I pray you, may we not all be fellow citizens of the world? and provided it be not the principle of one or more religions to extirpate all others, and to turn perfecutors when they get power (for ſuch are not to be *endurea*;) I ſay why ſhould we offer to hinder any man from doing with his own *ſoul* what he thinks fitting? Why ſhould we not make uſe of his body, eſtate, and underſtanding, for the publick good? let a man's life, ſubſtance, and liberty be under the protection of the laws; and I dare answer for him (whiſt his ſtake is among us) he will never be in a different intereſt, nor willing to quit this protection, or to exchange it for *poverty*, *ſlavery*, and *miſery*.

The thriving of any one *ſingle perſon* by honeſt means, is the thriving of the *common-wealth* wherein he reſides. And in what place ſoever of the world ſuch encouragement is given, as that in it, one may ſecurely and peaceably enjoy *property* and *liberty* both of *mind* and *body*; 'tis impoſſible but that place muſt flouriſh in *riches*, and in people, which are the *trueſt riches* of any country.

But as on the one hand a true *whig* thinks that all opinions purely ſpiritual and national, ought to be indulged; ſo on the other, he is for *ſeverely puniſhing* all *immoralities*, *breach of laws*, *violence* and *injuſtice*. A miniſter's tythes are as much his right, as any layman's eſtate can be his, and no pretence of religion or conſcience can warrant the ſubſtracting of them, whiſt the *law* is in being, which makes them payable: for a *whig* is far from the opinion that they are due by any other title. It would make a man's ears tingle, to hear the *divine right* inſiſted upon for any *human inſtitutions*; and to find *God Almighty* brought in as a principal there, where there is no neceſſity for it. To affirm that *monarchy*, *epiſcopacy*, *ſynods*, *tythes*, the *hereditary ſucceſſion* to the *crown*, &c. are *jure divino*; is to cram them down a man's throat, and tell him in plain terms

terms that he must submit to any of them under all inconveniences, whether the laws of his country are for it or against it. Every *whig* owns *submission* to government, to be an ordinance of God; *submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake*, says the apostle. Where (by the way) pray take notice, he calls them *ordinances of man*; and gives you the true notion how far any thing can be said to be *jure divina*: which is far short of what your high flown assertors of the *jus divinum* would carry it, and proves as strongly for a *republican* government, as a *monarchical*; though in truth it affects neither, where the very ends of government are destroyed.

A right *whig* looks upon *frequent parliaments* as such a *fundamental* part of the constitution, that even no *parliament* can part with this right. *High whiggism* is for *annual* parliaments, and *low whiggism* for *triennial*, with annual meetings. I leave it to every man's judgment, which of these would be the truest representative; would soonest ease the house of that number of members that have offices and employments, or take pensions from the court is least liable to corruption, would prevent exorbitant expence, and soonest destroy the pernicious practice of drinking and bribing for elections, or is most conformable to ancient custom. The law that lately passed with so much struggle for *triennial* parliaments shall content me, till the *legislative* shall think fit to make them *annual*.

But methinks, (and this I write with great submission and deference) that since the passing that act, it seems inconsistent with the reason of the thing, and preposterous, for the first parliament after any prince's *accession* to the *crown*, to give the public revenue *arising by taxes*, for a longer time than *that parliament's own duration*. I cannot see why the members of the first parliament should (as the case now stands) engross to themselves all the power of giving, as well as all the merit and rewards due to such a gift: and why succeeding parliaments should not, in their turn, have it in their power to oblige the prince, or to streighten him, if they saw occasion; and pare his nails if they were convinced he made ill use of such a *revenue*. I am sure we have had instances of this kind; and a wise body of senators ought always to provide against the worst that might happen. The *honey-moon* of *government* is a dangerous season; the rights and liberties of the people run a greater risk at that time, through their own representatives compliments and compliances, than they are ever likely to do during that reign: and 'tis safer to break this practice when we have the prospect of a good and gracious prince upon the throne, than when we have an inflexible person, who
thinks

thinks every offer an affront, which comes not up to the height of what his predecessor had, without considering whether it were well or ill done *at first*.

The revenues of our kings, for many ages, arose out of their *crown lands*; taxes on the subjects were raised only for public exigencies. But since we have turned the stream, and been so free of revenues for life, arising from *impositions* and *taxes*, we have given occasion to our princes to dispose of their *crown lands*, and depend for maintenance of their families on such a sort of income as is thought unjust and ungodly in most parts of the world, but in *Christianendom*: for, many of the arbitrary *eastern* monarchs think so, and will not eat the produce of such a *revenue*. Now since matters are brought to this pass, 'tis plain that our princes must subsist suitable to their high state and condition, in the best manner we are able to provide for them. And whilst the *calling* and *duration* of *parliaments* was precarious, it might indeed be an *act of imprudence*, though not of injustice, for any *one parliament* to settle such a sort of *revenue* for life on the prince: but at present, when all the world knows the *utmost extent* of a parliament's *possible* duration, it seems disagreeable to reason, and an encroachment upon the right of *succeeding* parliaments (for the future) for any *one parliament* to do that which another cannot undo, or has not power to do in its turn.

An old *Whig* is for chusing such sort of *representatives* to serve in parliament, as have *estates* in the kingdom; and those not fleeting ones, which may be sent beyond sea by bills of exchange by every packet boat, but fixed and permanent. To which end, every merchant, banker, or other moneyed man, who is ambitious of serving his country as a *senator*, should have also a competent, visible *land estate*, as a pledge to his electors that he intends to abide by them, and has the same interest with theirs in the public taxes, gains, and losses. I have heard and weighed the arguments of those, who, in opposition to this, urged the unsuitness of such, whose lands were engaged in debts and mortgages, to serve in parliament, in comparison with the *moneyed man* who had no *land*: but those arguments never convinced me.

No man can be a sincere lover of liberty, that is not for increasing and communicating that blessing to all people; and therefore the giving or restoring it not only to our brethren of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, but even to *France* itself (were it in our power) is one of the principal articles of *whiggism*. The ease and advantage which would be gained by uniting our own three kingdoms upon equal terms (for upon unequal it would be no *union*) is so visible, that if we had not the example of those masters of the world, the *Romans*, before

our eyes, one would wonder that our own experience (in the instance of uniting *Wales* to *England*) should not convince us, that although both sides would incredibly gain by it, yet the rich and opulent country, to which such an addition is made, would be the greater gainer. 'Tis so much more desirable and *secure*, to govern by *love* and *common interest*, than by *force*; to expect *comfort* and *assistance* in times of danger, from our next neighbours, than to find them at such a time a *heavy clog* upon the wheels of our government, and be in dread lest they should take that occasion to shake off an uneasy yoke; or to have as much need of entertaining a *standing army* against our *brethren*, as against our known and inveterate *enemies*; that certainly whoever can oppose so public and apparent good, must be esteemed either *ignorant* to a strange degree, or to have other designs in view which he would not willingly have brought to light.

I look upon her majesty's asserting the liberties and privileges of the *free cities* in *Germany*, an action which will shine in history as bright (at least) as her giving away her first fruits and tenths: to the merit of which last, some have assumingly enough ascribed all the successes she has hitherto been blessed with; as if *one set of men* were the *peculiar care* of providence, and all others (even *kings* and *princes*) were no otherwise fit to be considered by *God Almighty*, or posterity, than according to their *kindness* to them. But it has been generally represented so, where priests are the historians. From the first kings in the world down to these days, many instances might be given of very wicked princes, who have been extravagantly commended; and many excellent ones whose memories lie overwhelmed with loads of curses and calumny, just as they proved favourers or discountenancers of *High Church*, without regard to their other virtues or vices: for, *High Church* is to be found in all religions and sects, from the Pagan down to the Presbyterian; and is equally detrimental in every one of them.

A genuine *Whig* is for promoting a *general naturalization*, upon the firm belief, that whoever comes to be incorporated into us, feels his share of all our advantages and disadvantages, and consequently can have no interest but that of the public; to which he will always be a support to the best of his power, by his *person*, *substance* and *advice*. And if it be a truth, (which few will make a doubt of) that we are not one *third part peopled*, (though we are better so in proportion than any other part of *Europe*, *Holland* excepted) and that our stock of men decreases daily through our wars, plantations and sea voyages; that the ordinary course of propagation, even in time of continued peace and health, could not in many ages supply us with the numbers we want; that the security

city of civil and religious liberty, and of property, which through God's great mercy is firmly eſtabliſhed among us, will invite new comers as faſt as we can entertain them; that moſt of the reſt of the world groans under the weight of *tyranny*, which will cauſe all that have ſubſtance, and a ſenſe of honour and liberty, to fly to places of ſhelter; which conſequently would thoroughly people us with uſeful and profitable hands in a few years. What ſhould hinder us from an act of *general naturalization*? eſpecially when we conſider, that no *private* acts of that kind are reſuſed; but the expence is ſo great, that few attempt to procure them, and the benefit which the public receives thereby is inconſiderable.

Experience has ſhewn us the folly and falſity of thoſe plauſible inſinuations, that ſuch a naturalization would take the bread out of *Engliſhmen's* mouths. We are *convinced*, that the greater number of workmen of one trade there is in any town, the more does that town thrive; the greater will be the *demand* of the manufacture, and the *vent* to foreign parts, and the quicker *circulation* of the coin. The conſumption of the *produce* both of *land* and *industry*, increaſes viſibly in towns full of people; nay, the more ſhall every particular induſtrious perſon thrive in ſuch a place; though indeed *drones* and *idlers* will not find their account, who would ſain ſupport their own and their families ſuperfluous expences at their neighbours coſt; who make one or two days labour provide for four days extravagancies. And this is the common calamity of moſt of our corporation towns, whoſe inhabitants do all they can to diſcourage plenty, induſtry, and population; and will not admit of ſtrangers but upon too hard terms, through the falſe notion, that they themſelves, their children and apprentices, have the only right to ſquander their town's revenue, and to get, at their own rates, all that is to be gotten within their precincts, or in the neighbourhood. And therefore ſuch towns (through the miſchief ariſing by *combinations* and *bys-laws*) are, at beſt, at a *ſtand*; very few in a thriving condition, (and thoſe are where the *bys-laws* are leaſt *reſtrictive*) but *moſt* throughout *England* fall to viſible decay, whiſt new villages *not* incorporated, or more liberal of their privileges, grow up in their ſtead; till, in proceſs of time, the firſt ſort will become almoſt as deſolate as *old Sarum*, and will as well deſerve to loſe their right of ſending representatives to parliament. For certainly a *waste* or a *deſart* has no right to be represented, nor by our original conſtitution was ever intended to be. Yet I would by no means have thoſe deputies loſt to the commons, but transferred to wiſer, more induſtrious, and better peopled places, worthy (through their numbers and wealth) of being represented.

A *whig* is against the raising or keeping up a *standing army* in time of peace : but with this distinction, that if at any time an *army* (tho' even in time of peace) should be necessary to the support of this very maxim, a *whig* is not for being too hasty to destroy that which is to be the defender of his liberty. *I desire to be well understood*, suppose then, that persons, whose known principle and practice it has been (during attempts for arbitrary government) to plead for, and promote such an army in time of peace, as would be subservient to the will of a tyrant, and contribute towards the enslaving the nation, should, under a *legal government*, (yet before the ferment of the people was appeased) cry down a *standing army* in time of peace : I should shrewdly suspect that the principles of such persons are not changed, but that either they like not the *hands* that *army* is in, or the *cause* which it espouses ; and look upon it as an obstruction to another sort of army, which they should like *even in time of peace*. I say then, that altho' the maxim in general be certainly *true*, yet a *whig* (without the just imputation of having deserted his *principles*) may be for the *keeping up* such a standing army even in time of peace, till the nation has recovered his wits again, and chuses representatives who are against *tyranny* in any hands whatsoever ; till the enemies of our liberties want the power of raising another army of quite different sentiments : for, till that time, a *whiggish* army is the *guardian of our liberties*, and secures to us the power of *disbanding itself*, and prevents the raising of another of a *different kidney*.

As soon as this is done effectually ; by my consent, no such thing as a mercenary soldier should subsist in England, and therefore,

The *arming and training* of all the freeholders of *England*, as it is our undoubted ancient constitution, and consequently our right ; so it is the opinion of most *whigs*, that it ought to be put in practice. This would put us out of all fear of foreign invasions, or disappoint any such when attempted : this would soon take away the necessity of maintaining *standing armies of mercenaries* in time of peace : this would render us a hundred times more formidable to our neighbours than we are ; and secure effectually our liberties against any *king* that should have a mind to invade them at home ; which perhaps was the reason some of our late *kings* were so averse to it : and whereas as the case now stands, ten thousand disciplin'd soldiers (once landed) might march without *considerable* opposition from one end of *England* to the other ; were our *militia* well regulated, and *fire arms* substituted in the place of *bills, bows, and arrows*, (the weapons in use when our *training laws* were in vigour, and for which our laws are yet in force) we need not fear an hundred thousand enemies, were it possible to land

land ſo many among us. At every mile's end, at every river and paſs, the enemy would meet with freſh armies, conſiſting of men as well ſkilled in military diſcipline as themſelves; and more reſolved to fight, becauſe they do it for property: and the farther ſuch an enemy advanced into the country, the ſtronger and more reſolved he would find us; as *Hannibal* did the *Romans*, when he encamped under the walls of *Rome*, even after ſuch a defeat as that at *Cannæ*. And why? becauſe they were all *trained* ſoldiers, they were all *freemen* that fought, *pro aris et focis*; and ſcorned to truſt the preſervation of their lives and fortunes to *mercenaries* or *ſlaves*, tho' never ſo able-bodied: they thought weapons became not the hands of them that had nothing to loſe, and upon that account were unfit defenders of their maſter's properties; ſo that they never tried the experiment but in the *utmoſt extremity*.

That this is not only practicable, but eaſy, the modern examples of the *Swiſſers* and *Suedes* is an undeniable indication. *Engliſhmen* have as much *courage*, as great *ſtrength of body*, and *capacity of mind*, as any people in the univerſe: and if our late monarchs had the *enervating* their free ſubjects in view, that they might give a reputation to *mercenaries*, who depended only on the prince for their pay, (as 'tis plain they had) I know no reaſon why their example ſhould be followed in the days of *liberty*, when there is no ſuch proſpect. The preſervation of the *game* is but a very ſlender pretence for omitting it. I hope no wiſe man will put a *bare* or a *partridge* in the balance with the *ſafety* and *liberties* of *Engliſhmen*; tho' after all, 'tis well known to ſportſmen, that dogs, ſnares, nets, and ſuch ſilent methods as are daily put in practice, deſtroy the game ten times more than ſhooting with guns.

If the reſtoring us to our old conſtitution in this inſtance were ever neceſſary, 'tis more eminently ſo at this time, when our next neighbours of *Scotland* are by law armed juſt in the manner we deſire to be, and the *union* between both kingdoms not perfected. For the militia, upon the foot it now ſtands, will be of little uſe to us: 'tis generally compoſed of ſervants, and thoſe not always the ſame, conſequently not well trained; rather ſuch as *wink* with both eyes at their own firing a muſket, and ſcarce know how to keep it clean, or to charge it aright. It conſiſts of people whoſe reputation (eſpecially the *officers*) has been indolentiouſly diminſhed, and their perſons, as well as their employment, rendered contemptible, on purpoſe to enhance the value of thoſe that ſerve for pay; inſomuch that few gentlemen of quality will now a days debaſe themſelves ſo much as to accept of a company, or a regiment in the militia. But for all this, I can never be perſuaded that a *red coat* and *three pence* a day, infuſes more courage into the poor *ſwaggering idler*, than the having a wife and children, and an eſtate to fight

fight for; with good wholesome fare in his kitchen would into a *free-born* subject, provided the *freeman* were as trained as the *mercenary*.

I would not have the officers and foldiers of our most brave and honest *army* to mistake me. I am not arguing against them; for I am convinced, as long as there is work to do abroad, 'tis they (and not our home-dwelling *freeholders*) are most proper for it. Our war must now be an *offensive* war; and what I am pleading for, concerns only the bare *defensive* part. Most of our present generals and officers are filled with the true spirit of *liberty* (a most rare thing!) which demonstrates the felicity of her majesty's reign, and her standing upon a true bottom, beyond any other instance that can be given; inasmuch, that considering how great and happy we have been under the government of queens I have, sometimes doubted, whether an *anti-salic law* would be to our disadvantage.

Most of these *officers* do expect, nay (so true do I take them to be to their country's interest) do wish, whenever it shall please God to send us such a peace as may be relied upon both at home and abroad, to return to the state of *peaceable citizens* again; but 'tis fit they should do so, with such ample rewards for their blood and labours, as shall entirely satisfy them. And when they or the survivors of them, shall return full of honour and scars home to their relations, after the fatigues of so glorious a service to their country are ended; 'tis their country's duty to make them easy, without laying a necessity upon them of striving for the continuance of an *army*, to avoid *starving*. The Romans used to content them by a distribution of their enemies lands; and I think their example so good in every thing, that we could hardly propose a better. *Oliver Cromwell* did the like in *Ireland* to which we owe that kingdom's being a *protestant* kingdom at this day, and in continuing subject to the crown of England; but if it be too late to think of this method now, some other must be found out by the wisdom of *parliament*, which shall fully answer the end.

These officers and soldiers, thus settled and reduced to a *civil state*, would, in a great measure, compose that invincible *militia* I am now forecasting; and by reason of their skill in military affairs, would deserve the principal posts and commands in their respective countries: with this advantageous change of their condition, that whereas formerly they fought for their country only as *soldiers of fortune*; now they should defend it as wise and valiant *citizens*, as *proprietors* of the estates they fight for; and this will gain them the entire trust and confidence of all the good people of England, who whenever they come to know their own minds, do heartily hate slavery.

The

The manner and times of assembling, with several other necessary regulations, are only proper for the *legislative* to fix and determine.

A right *whig* lays no stress upon the *illegitimacy* of the *pretended prince* of Wales; he goes upon another principle than they, who carry the *right of succession* so far, as (upon that score) to undo all mankind. He thinks no prince fit to govern, whose principle it must be to *ruin* the constitution, as soon as he can acquire unjust power so to do. He judges it nonsense for one to be the *head of a church* (or *defender of a faith*;) who thinks himself bound in duty to overthrow it. He never endeavours to justify his taking the oaths to this government, or to quiet his conscience, by supposing the young *gentleman* at St. Germain's unlawfully begotten; since 'tis certain, that according to our law he cannot be looked upon as such. He cannot satisfy himself with any of the foolish distinctions trumped up of late years to reconcile base interest with a show of religion; but deals upon the square, and plainly owns to the world, that he is not influenced by any particular spleen: but that the exercise of an *arbitrary, illegal power* in the nation, so as to undermine the constitution, would incapacitate either king *James*, king *William*, or any other, from being his king, whenever the *public* has a power to hinder it.

As a necessary consequence of this opinion, a *Whig* must be against *punishing the iniquity of the fathers upon the children*, as we do (not only to the *third and fourth generation*, but) *for ever*; since our gracious God has declared, that he will no more pursue such severe methods in his justice, but that *the soul that sinneth, it shall die*. It is very unreasonable, that frail man, who has so often need of mercy, should pretend to exercise higher severities upon his *fellow-creatures*, than that fountain of justice on his most wicked *revolting slaves*. To corrupt the blood of a whole *family*, and send all the offspring a begging, after the father's head is taken off, seems a strange piece of severity, fit to be redressed in parliament; especially when we come to consider for what crime this has been commonly done. When subjects take arms against their *prince*, if their attempt succeeds, 'tis a *revolution*; if not, 'tis called a *rebellion*: It is seldom considered, whether the first motives be just or unjust. Now is it not enough, in such cases, for the prevailing party to hang or behead the *offenders*, if they can catch them, without extending the punishment to *innocent persons* for all generations to come?

The sense of this made the late *bill of treasons* (though it reached not so far as many would have had it) a favourite of the *Old Whigs*; they thought it a very desirable one, whenever it could be compassed, and perhaps, if not at that very juncture,

junction, would not have been obtained at all : 'Twas neceſſary for two different ſorts of people to unite in this, in order for a majority whoſe weight ſhould be ſufficient to enforce it. And I think ſome *Whigs* were very unjuſtly reproached by their *brethren*, as if by voting for this bill, they wilfully expoſed the late king's perſon to the wicked deſigns of his enemies.

Laſtly, the ſupporting of parliamentary credit, promoting of all *public buildings* and high-ways, the making all *rivers navigable* that are capable of it, employing the *poor*, ſuppreſſing *idlers*, reſtraining *monopolies* upon trade, maintaining the *liberty of the preſs*, the *juſt paying* and *encouraging* of all in the public ſervice, eſpecially that beſt and uſefulſt ſort of people the *ſeamen* : Theſe (joined to a firm opinion, that we ought not to hearken to any *terms of peace* with the *French king*, till it be quite out of his power to hurt us, but rather to die in defence of our *own* and the *liberties of Europe*) are all of them articles of my *whiggish belief*, and I hope none of them are *heterodox*.

And if all theſe together amount to a *commonwealthſman*, I ſhall never be aſhamed of the name, tho' given with a deſign of fixing a reproach upon me, and ſuch as think as I do.

Many people complain of the poverty of the nation, and the weight of the taxes. Some do this without any ill deſign ; but others hope thereby to become *popular* ; and at the ſame time to *enforce a peace* with *France*, before that kingdom be reduced to too low a pitch : fearing, leſt that *king* ſhould be *disabled* to accompliſh their ſcheme of bringing in the *pretender*, and aſſiſting him.

Now altho' 'tis acknowledged, that the taxes lye very heavy, and *money* grows ſcarce ; yet let the *importance* of our *war* be conſidered, together with the *obſtinacy*, perfidy, and *ſtrength* of our *enemy* ; can we poſſibly carry on ſuch a *diffuſive war* without *money* in proportion ? are the *queen's* ſubjects more burdened to maintain the public *liberty*, than the *French king's* are to confirm their own *ſlavery* ? not ſo much by three parts in four, God be praiſed : beſides, no true *Engliſhman* will grudge to pay taxes whiſt he has a penny in his purſe, as long as he ſees the public money *well laid out for the great ends for which it is given*. And to the honour of the queen and her miniſters it may be juſtly ſaid, that ſince *England* was a nation, never was the public money more frugally managed, or more ſitly applied. This is a farther mortification to thoſe *gentlemen*, who have *deſigns* in view which they dare not own : For whatever may be the *plauſible* and *ſpecious* reaſons they give in public, when they exclaim againſt the miniſtry ; the hidden and true one is, that through the preſent prudent adminiſtration, their ſo hopefully-laid project is in danger of being quite blown up ; and they begin to deſpair that they ſhall bring in king *Jarvis* the third by the means of queen *Anne*, as I verily believe they once had the vanity to imagine.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

The following curious and authentic Paper is entirely at your Service. We are, Sir, Your's, &c. &c.

Lord Ranelagh in the Chair.

My Lords,

THE select committee to whom the consideration of the petition of the clerk of the parliaments, gentleman usher of the black rod, and serjeant at arms, on behalf of themselves and the other officers and servants attending this right honourable house was referred, have met, and, on examination of some of the clerks, who, by order of this house, were sworn at the table, have directed me to make the following report, viz.

Mr. Edmund Fenner being examined, saith, that he was employed and brought into the parliament office by Mr. Sterne, in session 1755, that he paid him for his attendance, but not regularly; and that the largest sum Mr. Sterne gave him at any time was something more than 30l. and being asked if he did not act under Mr. Hutchinson, the clerk assistant, he answered that he did not; but that at several times he assisted the clerks in general, and without receiving any gratuity or reward from any of them; that this house was pleased, the last session of parliament to grant him the sum of 106l. 13s. 4d. but had never granted him any before; and as some of their lordships were then pleased to mention to him, that they wished a continuance of it for the future, he believed that was the cause for submitting it to the consideration of your committee this session as clerk in the parliament office.

Being farther examined, whether he was deputy to any of the clerks, he answered, that he was not, but that doctor Gayer proposed to engage his attendance upon as advantageous terms as Mr. Sterne had done, and that doctor Gayer never gave him any gratuity except a piece of linen cloth, which said Fenner did not think himself intitled to; and he farther said, that he always thought doctor Gayer was one of the patentee clerks, and that the other clerks were subordinate to the patentee.

Your committee then proceeded to examine doctor Gayer, who being asked whether the profits arising from the office of clerk of the parliaments have been, or are they at present entirely received by, or appointed to his own use, and to no other, he answered, that he submitted to the justice of their lordships, as it might affect him and his family to answer the question put to him; and, being ordered to withdraw, was again called in, and the question being again repeated, answered, that they have been received by him and applied to his own use and no other hitherto; and being further asked,

whether he was under any contract to any person whatsoever to pay any part of his emoluments as clerk of the parliaments, or did he receive his present office under any such condition? answered, that the patent is to him and his brother only, and that he was not under any contract in writing, but that he is under a point of honour to part with some part of the profits; and that to a person unknown to him; and, being ordered to withdraw, was again called in and asked, what proportion of the emoluments was he engaged in point of honour to pay to the person unknown? to which doctor Gayer answered, he could not tell until he knew what the emoluments were; and being asked what sum he was to receive thereout? answered, 200*l.* for his proportion of the whole, either for a year or session; and, being ordered to withdraw, was again called in, and asked, to whom he was under a point of honour to part with any of the emoluments to the person unknown? to which he said he could give no answer; and, being then ordered to withdraw, was afterwards called in, and the question being a second time read to him, and also being informed by the lord in the chair, that he would not only incur the censure of that committee, but that the committee would direct the chairman to move the house to have him committed to close confinement for the remainder of the session, if he did not give a categorical answer to the question; and doctor Gayer said he would give a categorical answer, but that if it was not for the sake of his wife and children, that he would go to Newgate and remain there, and then answered the question, by saying, it was lord Beauchamp; whereupon the committee came to the following resolution:

Resolved, That the several fees and sums appointed by this house for its clerk, are in consideration of their services, and intended for the sole use of them and of no other person.—Carried in the committee 14 for it, against it 11. The following resolutions were moved in the house.

I. Resolved, That it appears to this house, that doctor Gayer is bound by a point of honour to give part of the emoluments of his office, as clerk of the House of Lords, to a person unknown to him.

II. Resolved, That doctor Gayer is to receive but 200*l.* for his proportion of the whole profits of the said emoluments.

III. Resolved, That the said doctor Gayer is under a point of honour to the right honourable F. S. Conway commonly called lord viscount Beauchamp, to part with the emoluments of his said office to a person unknown, except the sum of 200*l.* which he is to receive for his own use.

IV. Resolved, That it appears to this house, that the sum of 200*l.* per session is sufficient for the person exercising the office of clerk of the parliaments, and that the house ought
not

not to address his excellency the Lord Lieutenant, for more than the said sum.

V. Resolved. That an humble address be presented to his excellency the Lord Lieutenant, humbly praying him to lay before his Majesty the special report from the committee for settling the allowances of the servants of this house, together with the several resolutions entered into in consequence thereof, humbly beseeching his Majesty, graciously to take the same into consideration, and to act therein as to his royal wisdom shall seem proper.

The following is a List of the Divisions ;

For the Resolution.] Lord Mountmorres, who moved; Bishops, the Lord Primate, Derry, Clogher, Limerick; Earls of Inchiquin, Carrick, Wantesford, Shannon, Charlemont, Moyra, Courtown, Howth, Miltown; Viscounts Powercourt, Boyn, Strongford, Glereuly; Barons Branden, Lisle, Blayney, Mount Florence, Gore, Mount Eagle, Baltinglafs.

Against.] Archb. of Dublin, Bishops of Cork, Killala, Dromore, Downe, Raphoe; Earls Bellamont, Momington; Viscounts Dunganon, and Kingston.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

The following Papers, though not originals, are yet too interesting to be omitted in the Political Register.

Mr. Wilkes's Address to the Liverymen of the City of London.

Gentlemen, and Fellow Citizens,

IN deference to the opinion of some very respectable friends, I presume to offer myself a candidate for my native city of London, at the ensuing general election. The approbation you have been pleased on several occasions to express of my conduct, induces me to hope that the address I have now the honour of making to you will not be unfavourably received.

The chief merit with you, gentlemen, I know to be a sacred love of liberty, and of those generous principles, which at first gave, and have since secured to this nation, the great charter of freedom. I will yield to none of my countrymen in this noble zeal, which has always characterized Englishmen. I may appeal to my whole conduct, both in and out of parliament, for the demonstration that such principles are deeply rooted in my heart, and that I have steadily pursued the interests of my country, without regard to the powerful enemies I created, or the manifest dangers in which I must thence necessarily be involved, and that I have fulfilled the duties of a good subject.

The two important questions of public liberty, respecting *general warrants* and the *seizure of papers*, may perhaps place me among those who have deserved well of mankind, by an undaunted

undaunted firmness, perseverance, and probity: these are the virtues, which your ancestors never failed to exert in the same national cause of liberty, and the world will see renewed in their descendants on every great call of freedom and our country.

The nature and dignity of the trust, gentlemen, which I now solicit, strike me very forcibly. I feel the warmest zeal for your interests, and affection for your service. I am conscious how unequal my abilities are, yet fidelity and integrity shall in some measure compensate that deficiency, and I will endeavour through life, to merit the continuance of your approbation; the most precious reward to which I aspire. If I am honoured with so near a relation to you, it will be my ambition to be useful, to dedicate myself to your service, and to discharge with spirit and assiduity, the various and important duties of the distinguished station in which I may be placed by the favour of you, gentlemen, the livery of London. I am with the utmost respect, gentlemen, your most faithful, and obedient humble servant,

London, March 10, 1768.

JOHN WILKES.

ON the 16th of March the election for the city of London came on at Guildhall, when the majority of hands was declared to be for the right hon. the lord mayor, Sir Robert Ladbroke, William Beckford, esq; and John Wilkes, esq; the sheriffs being at first doubtful, whether the lord mayor, Sir Richard Glyn, Barlow Trecothick, esq; or John Pater-son, esq; had the greatest shew of hands, those four were put up again; when the majority appeared to be in favour of the lord mayor; but a poll was demanded for Sir Richard Glyn, Barlow Trecothick, esq; and ——— Pater-son, esq. all the candidates appeared on the hustings. Previous to the nomination Mr. Wilkes made the following speech to the livery:

“ Gentlemen,

“ I am happy to find myself once more amongst the friends and patrons of liberty. This day makes me glorious amends for the rigour of a long unmerited exile; in which the only consolation remaining to me was, that from my sufferings you had an uninterrupted enjoyment of your most invaluable rights and privileges: since the exertion of my firmness in an important moment, no minister has once dared to issue a *general warrant* against your persons, or to sign an order for the *seizure* of your papers; and I trust that such despotism will never be again exercised over the free subjects of this country.

“ I stand here, gentlemen, a private man, unconnected with the great, and unsupported by any party. I have no support but you: I wish no other support: I can have none more certain, none more honourable. If I have the happiness,
gentlemen,

gentlemen, of being returned to parliament by your favour, I shall be ready to pay the greatest deference to the sentiments of my constituents on every occasion, and shall dedicate myself to their service, by promoting to the utmost of my abilities the trade and commerce of this great metropolis, by which alone it can maintain the first rank it now enjoys, and I hope, with its liberties, will ever enjoy."

Mr. Wilkes waited on the Chamberlain, at his house, on the evening before the election and took up his freedom, of the city, and livery of the Joiners company: and the next morning, about nine o'clock, went to Guildhall, and was in the council chamber some time; from whence he proceeded, with the rest of the candidates, to the hustings, and was received by the people with loud acclamations, which were repeated, as soon as he had ended his address to the livery, and on his being returned one of the representatives.

There was as full a hall as ever known upon the like occasion.

A F A C T.

AFTER the declaration of the sheriffs, that the majority of hands had evidently appeared for Sir Robert Ladbroke, William Beckford, esq. and John Wilkes, esq. and upon the second holding up of hands, to determine which of the other candidates had likewise a majority, it was at length declared in favour of the lord mayor. Sir Robert Ladbroke, the lord mayor, and Mr. Beckford, consulted together; Sir Robert Ladbroke and Mr. Beckford were of opinion, that a joint address should be made to the livery, as usual, by the four candidates, so nominated and returned to the hall. This was refused by the lord mayor. — Quere, Was the reason of this refusal, his having burnt his own fingers, as well as the North Briton, No. 45, or the influence of his ministerial contract for the cloathing several regiments?

The following is the state of the poll each day:

	Wed.	Th.	Fr.	Sat.	Mon.	Tu.	W.	Total
Rt. Hon. Tho. Harley -	64	562	890	566	660	591	396	3729
Sir Robert Ladbroke - -	81	563	796	565	647	583	443	3678
Mr. Alderman Beckford -	59	449	753	482	614	583	462	3402
Mr. Alderman Trecothick	60	446	628	438	478	514	393	2957
Sir Richard Glyn - -	57	429	611	391	534	435	366	2823
John Paterfon, Esq; - -	59	304	400	274	299	244	189	1769
John Wilkes, Esq; - -	26	143	253	154	257	213	198	1247

At the conclusion, which was on Wednesday March 23, Mr. Wilkes addressed the livery as follows:

"Gentlemen and fellow-citizens,

"The poll being now finished, I return my sincerest thanks to those disinterested and independent friends, who have as steadily as generously stood forth in my favour. The want of success, out of our power to command, has not in the least abated my zeal for your service. You cannot be

unac-

unacquainted with the various circumstances which have contributed to it. My friends were of opinion that I should wait the dissolution of the last slavish and venal parliament, while the other candidates had been for many months soliciting your interest. Ministerial influence, assisted by private malice, has been exerted in the most arbitrary and unconstitutional manner, and by means of the basest chicanery and oppression.

"But though disappointed, I am not in the least dispirited: on the contrary, I reflect with pride and gratitude on the many instances of regard and affection I have received from the livery of London.

"I beg leave to make my best acknowledgments to the sheriffs, who have shewn the utmost candour and impartiality during the election, accompanied with a dignity of character becoming their station in this great metropolis.

"And now, gentlemen, permit me to address you as friends to liberty, and freeholders of the county of Middlesex; declaring my intention of appearing as a candidate to represent you in parliament, and still hoping, by your means, to have the honour of being useful to you in the British senate.

"Gentlemen of the livery, I recommend it to you in the strongest manner, to exert yourselves to preserve the peace and quiet of this great city."

Next day the following advertisement appeared:

To the worthy Liverymen of the City of London.

Gentlemen and Brother-Liverymen.

THE honour done me by the nomination of the common-hall though ineffectual from the oppressive means made use of during the poll, calls for my sincerest and warmest acknowledgments. I am sensible that I had the hearts of many, who could not give me their hands, but I trust from the spirited conduct of those liverymen whose votes were engaged before my intention was known, that I shall be honoured on any future occasion with both the heart and hand of every friend of liberty and our country. I am, with the sincerest attachment, gentlemen, your most obliged, humble servant,

Wednesday night, March 23.

JOHN WILKES.

The following is Mr. Wilkes's Address to the Freeholders, &c: of Middlesex, published the succeeding day.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.
Gentlemen,

HAVING ever gloriously distinguished yourselves as Englishmen, by preventing the encroachments of arbitrary power, despising ministerial influence, and maintaining the rights and privileges of free-born subjects in a land of liberty, I beg leave to offer myself a candidate to represent

present you in the ensuing parliament, and to give you the strongest assurances that I shall, on this and every other occasion, exert that inflexible steadiness and undaunted perseverance, in the best of causes, which I trust have hitherto recommended my conduct, and will ever constitute the most essential part of my character. I am, gentlemen, with the truest esteem and regard, your most devoted and most obedient humble servant;

Wednesday night, March 23.

JOHN WILKES.

On Monday March the 28th the election came on at Brentford. Mr. Wilkes went privately thither on the preceding evening: and at nine o'clock next morning appeared on the hustings, which were erected in the middle of a place called Brentford Butts. The sheriffs came about 10 o'clock, but the other candidates, Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, and George Cooke, Esq: did not appear till past one.

The freeholders were frequently impatient, calling out for the poll; and Mr. Wilkes as often addressed himself to the public, requesting their patience until the appearance of all the candidates. The poll books were opened, at half past one, from which time the books were fully employed until near five o'clock, when the freeholders slackened; and at half an hour after five no freeholders offering to poll, it was proposed to close the books at six o'clock; at the same time the sheriffs sent to Mr. Cook, at a house contiguous, for his concurrence; no answer being received, four other messages were sent, one after another, without any answer, until past seven o'clock, when the sheriffs were informed Mr. Cook was gone for London. The sheriffs then went round to every book, and finding no person polling, made a proclamation for freeholders to come and poll, or that the books would be closed. After waiting some time, and three several proclamations, without any freeholders appearing to poll, the books were sealed up, when the sheriffs adjourned until Tuesday morning, at nine o'clock, to cast up the books, and make their return; when the numbers were, for Mr. Wilkes, 1292.

Mr. Cooke, - - - - - 827

Sir William Beauchamp Proctor 807

when the two former were declared duly elected.

The crowd was greater than ever known on the like occasion, yet the whole poll was conducted with the greatest regularity and order; there was not the least insult or violence offered to any of the electors that polled for either party; and it is very remarkable, that, during the time of polling, not one freeholder present was in the least intoxicated with liquor.

The town of Brentford was immediately illuminated; and the people on their return that evening to London obliged the inhabitants of London and Westminster to illuminate also.

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It being late in the evening and most of the families retired to bed, several irregularities were committed by the mob, such as breaking windows, &c. where candles were not immediately lighted, particularly at the earl of Bute's, the Mansion House, &c. however, the next evening, the 29th, there was a general illumination throughout London and Westminster.

The following is Mr. Wilkes's address of thanks on being elected and declared a member for the county of Middlesex.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

MOST gratefully sensible of those generous and patriotic principles which have induced you to elect me your representative in parliament, I intreat you to accept of my best endeavours to express the joy which inspires me on so interesting, so affecting an occasion. The personal regard you have shewn me, indeed, confers on me an obligation, the due sense of which I too cordially feel to find words to describe. I cannot, however, forbear congratulating you, as the most distinguished of Englishmen, on the honourable proof you have given, that the genuine spirit of independency, the true love of our country (for which the county of Middlesex has for ages been so eminently conspicuous) still glow in your breasts with unremitting ardour, still shine forth with undiminished lustre. Let the sons of venality bow the knee to the idol of fordid interest. Let them call their PUSILLANIMITY prudence, while they ignominiously kiss the rod of power, and tamely stoop to the yoke, which artful ministers insiduously prepare, and arbitrarily impose. You, Gentlemen, have shewn, that you are neither to be deceived nor enslaved.

In proving yourselves enemies to ministerial persecution, the eyes of the whole kingdom, of the whole world, are upon you, as the first and firmest defenders of public liberty. Happy shall I think myself, if, fired by your example, the efforts of my warmest zeal may be deemed an adequate return for the favours you have bestowed on me; but however inefficient my abilities, my will to serve you is unbounded as it is unalterable. Engaged as I have long been in the glorious cause of freedom, I beg you to consider my past conduct as an earnest of the future, and to look on me as a man, whose primary views will ever regard the rights and privileges of his fellow countrymen in general, and whose secondary views shall be attentively fixed on the dignity, advantage and prosperity of the county of Middlesex. Let me therefore desire of you, gentlemen, to favour me from time to time with such instructions as may best enable me to accomplish those ends; resting assured of always finding me devoted to your service, and that the happiest moments of my life will be those in which I am employed in maintaining the civil and religious rights of Englishmen, and in promoting the interests of my constituents. I am, with the truest respect, Gentlemen, your obliged and faithful humble servant,

Tuesday, March 29.

JOHN WILKES.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

THE arrears of the civil list have long been the subject of general complaint; and with very good reason: for, though the servants of the crown and their creditors (the latter, alas! a most numerous body) be the persons more immediately interested; yet, as this debt is a public debt, and must be paid by the public, every man has cause to be alarmed at its increase. It is not, indeed, in the power of every one to express his dissatisfaction in the same manner with the position you mentioned in a former number, who refused to mount the fore-horse of the K—— state-coach, till his wages were paid him. But every one will take the liberty, either in writing or conversation, to testify his displeasure at the encrease of this debt, nay indeed at any such debt having been contracted at all, especially as our ministers of late have talked so much of œconomy. And it must, in fact, be confessed, that they have exercised œconomy, (I had almost said parsimony and niggardliness) in the inferior departments of the household, where tables and perquisites have been abolished to the amount, it is said, of no less than one hundred thousand pounds *per annum*. Nay I have been informed, that the present lord steward weighs out the candles for the use of the household with his own hands, and dressed in a check-frock and apron like a common tallow-chandler. I really think, Mr. Almon, that such a figure would make an excellent print for some of your succeeding numbers.

While, therefore, such rigid œconomy, such mean parsimony and penuriousness is observed in the management of the household; whence comes it, in the name of wonder, that the civil list is so much in arrear? The king himself (God bless him!) is not given to any expensive pleasures: he has no turn for gaming, wenching, or any other sort of extravagance. The play-house, I believe, is the most considerable article of his private expence: but that is but a mere trifle; and notwithstanding the murmurs and complaints of the lords and ladies in waiting, who say, that they are quite fatigued with such constant attendance, that their backs are like to break with standing so long and so frequently behind their M—— at the theatre, and, in a word, that their M—— are grown play-mad; I say, Sir, notwithstanding these murmurs and complaints, I will take upon me to affirm, that their M—— can enjoy no such rational entertainment within the precincts of St. James's.

VOL. II.

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To what, then, are we to ascribe the enormous arrears of the civil list? The inferior servants of the crown, we see, are almost st—rv—d: the k—g himself is not a man of expence: and yet, with such an immense revenue as eight hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, the civil list is no less than six hundred thousand pounds in debt. What then, Sir, in the name of G—d! is become of all this money? Has it been employed in bribing the members of the last parliament to vote with the ministry? Has it been employed in bribing the electors to choose such members for the next parliament as will vote with the ministry? Has it been employed in paying the pensions of the numerous, I had almost said the innumerable train of court-sycophants and dependents? Or has it been sunk in the bottomless gulph of secret service? in other words, has it been pocketed by our ministers and placemen, those conscientious guardians of the public treasure? Whichever of these, Sir, or whether all these be the case, I hope the members of the ensuing parliament, notwithstanding the many infamous methods employed to secure a majority of them in the court interest, will have the spirit and resolution to refuse paying one farthing of a debt, with the manner of contracting which they are totally unacquainted.

I might mention the dangerous influence which this example has upon persons in inferior stations, who say, that though in debt, they are in no worse a condition than the K—and many of the members of both houses of parliament.

I have a nephew, Sir, (a very abandoned fellow indeed!) who is in this very predicament, and who, though over head and ears in debt, and every moment in danger of being arrested by his creditors, alledges, that he has the example of the K—and of many of our lords and commoners to plead in his excuse; and that as these have thought proper to secure themselves by privileges of their own making, so he is determined, in this respect likewise, to tread in their footsteps, and to secure himself from an arrest; for that if any man shall offer to seize him, he will blow out his brains. But not to draw out this letter to too great a length, I shall conclude it with a fable, which, the ingenious reader will perceive, has no relation to the above subject.

Once upon a time, the beasts of a certain forest made choice of the lion for their king; and in order to enable him to support, with proper splendor, the dignity of his station, they bestowed upon him a royal revenue, sufficient to maintain not only himself, but a large train of servants, who were intended to assist him in conducting the affairs of government, and the
nomination

nomination of whom was left entirely to himself. The lion, though deficient neither in sagacity nor virtue, had yet the misfortune to choose for his servants some of the most worthless of his subjects; though these, it must be owned, had the address to impose upon him in such an artful manner, as would have eluded the penetration even of a more intelligent animal. The fox, for instance, made him believe, that his cunning was wisdom; the spaniel, that his servility was loyalty; the tyger, that his cruelty was wholesome severity, and a desire of enforcing a due obedience to the laws; the ass, that his dulness of apprehension was solidity of judgment; and the monkey, that his harlequin tricks were dexterity and skill in managing the intricate affairs of state. These worthy associates, having thus wriggled themselves into power, and seized into their hands the reins of government, tyrannized, with equal insolence, over their sovereign and their fellow-subjects: keeping the former in the most profound ignorance of the state of his affairs, and so stinting him in his daily allowance, that he had hardly sometimes the common necessaries of life; and at the same time exacting such unconscionable contributions from the latter as they were by no means able to pay, and barring up, with insuperable obstructions, all access to their complaints to the throne. At last the lion began to complain, that, notwithstanding the royal revenue settled upon him by his subjects, he was almost starved for want of provisions; and expressed his surprize what could become of the large contributions, which he knew were paid him. His servants told him, that a great part of these was employed in *secret services*, that is, as they would have had it to be understood, in paying spies to watch the motions of the beasts of a neighbouring forest, who had a design upon the state; though, in reality, it was converted to their own private purposes. They therefore advised him to *anticipate his revenue*, or *run in arrears*, and promised, at the same time, that they would oblige his subjects to discharge whatever debts he might happen to contract. The lion, who was humane and generous, and knew that his subjects could not well pay any larger contributions than those which they already paid, expressed at first some aversion to the proposal; but being naturally of an indolent temper, he agreed to the expedient, and allowed his servants to do as they pleased. Things accordingly went on for some time in this manner, till at last a large debt was contracted: but upon the servants of the crown endeavouring to make the subjects pay this debt, the latter refused, and preferred their complaints to their sovereign, who being now convinced of

the villainy of his feryants, difmiffed them his fervice, after having obliged them to refund their ill-got gains. At the fame time he replaced them with a more worthy fet of feryants ; and in order to prevent thefe laft from being corrupted like their predeceffors, he had it enacted into a law, that, for the future, the feryants of the crown, inftead of being paid out of the royal revenue, fhould be paid by the public. From this time forward, the lion, being freed from the impositions of his feryants, continued to live in tranquillity and plenty ; his feryants, being no longer expofed to temptations, were faithful and honeft ; and his fubjects, now convinced of the equity of his government, paid all their contributions with chearfulnefs and pleafure.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Cinquieme Lettre de J. J. Rouffeau, à M. D.

Monfieur et cher ami,

EN m'acquittant envers vous du doux devoir de reconnaissance, je fens mon cœur fe dilater, à mefure que je vous écris. Du milieu de ma folitude, je fais la guerre au genre humain : il eft permis de la faire à fes ennemis. Peut-on me blâmer ? je n'attaque que les vices.

Si quelques fombres lueurs d'une lumiere pure viennent quelquefois éclairer l'homme au milieu de fes égaremens, il en étouffe bientôt la clarté par des raifonnemens fophiftiques, fruit de fes vaines études. On n'étudie plus pour connoître fes foibles, et pour s'en corriger. L'Europe eft remplie d'univerfités. On mefure la diftance des aftres par des calculs géométriques. On entaffe, comme les géans de la fable, montagnes fur montagnes pour efcalader les hauts Cieux : l'être fuprême au milieu de fon incompréhenfibilité n'eft pas à l'abri des vaines recherches des hommes : on l'interroge fur la perfection de fes œuvres ; on lui demande compte de fes voyes ; on le charge des imperfections de la nature, et l'homme rejette fur le créateur les folies et les foibleffes qui font l'ouvrage de l'homme. On connoît tout dans le fiele où nous fommes, chofe étrange ! au milieu de ces connoiffances, on ne fe connoît pas foi-même. Affez éclairé fur fes intérêts temporels, l'homme eft aveugle fur fes intérêts fpirituels. Las de vivre dans une contrainte perpétuelle, il appréhende de mourir ; et après avoir paffé par le creufet de la tribulation,

il feroit que le néant fût la destinée de son âme et le terme de fa vie.

Oui, cher ami ! l'univers est devenu l'école d'une philosophie perverse et orgueilleuse. On arbore presque par-tout l'étendard de l'incrédulité, et on persécute la vertu. Ames vertueuses qui gémissiez dans l'oppression, voilà le fruit, le beau fruit des sciences et des arts ! Heureuse ignorance de nos ancêtres ! vous n'êtes plus. Ils étoient moins savans ; mais ils étoient plus vertueux : ils n'avoient pas tant d'érudition ; mais ils avoient plus d'humanité. Arts pernicieux ! sciences orgueilleuses ! vous avez banni la simplicité, la bonne foi, la droiture, l'humanité avec toutes les vertus. L'on n'est savant que pour se nuire. On a trouvé l'art d'encenser le vice, et on l'érige en divinité : il ne porte pas le nom d'Isis ou d'Osire ; mais celui que l'on a substitué, n'est pas plus analogue : on l'appelle philosophie, et, parmi le peuple, franchise, sincérité, politesse, savoir-vivre, que fais-je ? prenez le contraire, et vous le qualifiez. Vicieux par système, on veut aller à l'immortalité par le vice ; et sans le frein des lois civiles, combien ne compteroit-on pas d'Eratostrates ?

On dit que je suis le panégyriste de l'ignorance et de la brute ; oui, mon cher ami ! je vous l'avoue, je suis le panégyriste de l'ignorance et de la brute : la première est préférable à une science maligne et perverse ; et pourquoi l'homme feroit-il supérieur à l'autre ? La brute a des besoins, il est vrai, & la nature y a pourvu : dès que ces besoins sont satisfaits, la brute se couche, ferme l'œil, et s'endort. Ses besoins, O homme ! sont-ils en plus petit nombre ? Tu n'oserois le dire ; mais n'importe : sont-ils satisfaits ? de nouveaux desirs succèdent aux premiers, et après ceux-là d'autres encore plus violens viennent solliciter ta poursuite ; et enfin le dégoût marche à la suite de la jouissance. Sage précaution de la providence ! d'avoir rendu l'univers incapable de remplir le cœur de l'homme ; et le conquérant de l'Asie gémit au milieu même de ses conquêtes. La brute ne connoît sûrement pas ce cercle de jouissance, de dégoût, et de desirs renaissans sans cesse les uns des autres.

Cher ami ! c'est à vous que je m'explique ; mon apologie ne peut tomber dans de meilleures mains. Je suis l'ennemi des sciences, dit-on, et qui plus est, le panégyriste de l'ignorance : ferai-je un aveu ? Et pourquoi ne le ferai-je pas ? C'est à vous que je parle : je ne suis ni l'un ni l'autre ; voici comment : toute science qui nous apprend à nous connoître, à nous faire remplir les devoirs de notre état, et ceux de la société ; qui nous montre la vertu dans tout son éclat, & nous donne du goût pour elle ; surtout cette divine science qui nous fait connoître

connoître l'être suprême, l'économie de sa religion, son culte et tout ce qui y à trait ; toute science qui à ces objets je l'approve, je la révere, et même je me ferai toujours un devoir de l'inculquer dans mes écrits. Mais ces vaines sciences qui apprennent l'homme à se rendre l'arbitre des merveilles du tout-puissant, ces vaines sciences qui sont l'essence de la religion des philosophes & des beaux esprits de nos jours, je le répète, je les abhorre ces sciences ; je préfère l'ignorance la plus grossière à toutes les vaines spéculations de ces prétendus savans. Je dirai toujours ; soyons moins éclairés, mais soyons plus vertueux.

Je sens que je parle un langage barbare pour la plupart des hommes, et qui plus est, j'arme contre moi toute la secte des nouveaux philosophes : elle est nombreuse ; mais je n'en crains pas les traits. Ils s'imaginent être les seuls dépositaires du bon sens, et que ne pas penser comme eux, c'est renoncer à toutes les lumières, aux démonstrations, à l'évidence. Le compas à la main ils veulent mesurer les ouvrages du créateur, et s'ils ne peuvent en connoître tous les ressorts, ces sublimes génies n'y voyent que des absurdités. La vertu, l'aimable vertu, est la première qui tombe sous leurs traits : comment la respecteroient-ils ? Ils n'en connoissent ni la nature ni les propriétés : ils n'en savent le nom, que pour l'outrager, la tourner en ridicule, et la persécuter. Ami vertueux ! vous la connoissez, vous l'aimez, vous la chérissiez. Vous méritez d'être heureux : puissiez-vous l'être aussi long-tems que je le desre. Adieu : recevez mes très-humbles salutations,

J. J. ROUSSEAU.

T R A N S L A T I O N .

A Fifth Letter from J. J. Rousseau to Mr. D.

Dear Sir,

IN discharging towards you the pleasing duty of gratitude, I feel my heart expand in proportion as I write to you, From the midst of my solitude I wage war against mankind. It is lawful, sure, to wage war against one's enemies. And can I be blamed ? I only attack vice.

If some faint glimmerings of true knowledge sometimes come to enlighten man in the midst of his errors, he soon extinguishes them by his sophistical reasonings, the fruit of his vain studies ; studies, which are now no longer directed towards discovering the source of his foibles, and the best method

method of correcting them. Europe, it is true, is full of universities. We measure the distance of the stars by geometrical calculations. We heap, like the giants of old, mountains upon mountains, to scale the very heavens: even the Supreme Being himself, in the midst of his incomprehensible attributes, is not secure against the presumptuous researches of man. We question him as to the perfection of his works: We demand of him an account of his ways: We charge him with the imperfections of nature; and man throws upon the Creator the blame of those follies and weaknesses which are the work of man. We know every thing in the present age; and yet, strange as it may appear, we know not even ourselves. Quick-sighted enough as to his temporal interests, man is blind to his eternal ones. Weary of living in perpetual constraint; he is yet afraid to die; and, after having passed through the furnace of affliction, he wishes annihilation may be the fate of his soul, and the period of his life.

Yes! my dear friend: the world is become a school of the most perverse and proud philosophy. They erect, almost every where, the standard of incredulity; and they persecute virtue. Ye virtuous souls, who groan under oppression, such is the fruit, the blessed fruit of the sciences and the arts! Happy ignorance of our ancestors! You are now no more. They were, it is true, less knowing; but they were also more virtuous: they had less learning; but they had more humanity. Pernicious arts! proud sciences! ye have banished simplicity, honesty, integrity, humanity, and all the other virtues, from the earth. Our knowledge now tends only to our ruin. We have found the art of extolling vice, and we exalt it into a divinity. It bears not, I own, the name of Isis or Osiris; but that which we give it, is not less ridiculous. The learned call it philosophy; the vulgar, freedom, sincerity, politeness, the art of living, and what not? Call it the reverse of all these, and you will give it a proper name. Vicious by rule, we would fain arrive at immortality through the paths of vice; and were it not for the restraint of civil laws, we should, I'm afraid, see many an Eratosthratus.

Tis said, that I am an advocate for ignorance and for brutes. Yes, my dear friend! I will confess it to you, I am an advocate for ignorance and for brutes. The first, surely, is preferable to ill-natured and perverse science; and in what respects is man superior to the last? The brute hath his wants, it is true; and nature hath provided for them. As soon as these are satisfied, he lays him down, shuts his eyes, and falls asleep.
And

And are thy wants, vain man, less numerous than his? Thou dar'st not say it: but suppose they were, the moment they are satisfied, new desires spring up in their place; and these again are followed by others still more violent; and to close the mortifying scene, disgust treads fast upon the heels of enjoyment. Wise precaution of providence! to have rendered the universe incapable of satisfying the heart of man! and hence it was that the conqueror of Asia sighed in the very midst of his conquests. The brute, surely, is a stranger to this circle of enjoyment, disgust, and desires following each other in endless succession.

'Tis to you, my dear friend, that I thus explain myself; and my apology could not fall into better hands. I am an enemy, they say, to the sciences; and, which is more, an advocate for ignorance. Shall I speak my mind? Why should not I speak it, since I am speaking to you? I am, then, neither the one nor the other; and I prove it thus: every science, that teaches us to know ourselves, and to discharge our private and our public duties; that shews us virtue in all her native brightness, and inspires us with a love for that amiable object; especially that divine science, which leads us to the knowledge of the Supreme Being, of the nature of his religion, his worship, and whatever belongs to him: every science, I say, that hath such things for its object, I approve, I revere, and I shall even always think it my duty to inculcate in my writings. But those vain sciences, which teach man to make himself the judge of the wonders of the Almighty; those vain sciences, which form the religion of our modern wits and philosophers; those vain sciences, I repeat it, I most heartily abhor; and prefer the grossest ignorance to all the vain speculations of our pretended *literati*. My maxim shall always be; let us be less knowing, but let us be more virtuous.

I am sensible, that this language will sound harsh to the generality of mankind; and what is yet more, that I expose myself to the resentment of the whole sect of new philosophers. Their numbers, it is true, are great; but I fear not the effect of their most envenomed arrows. They imagine, forsooth, that they alone are possessed of good sense; and that not to think like them, is to renounce all knowledge, demonstration, and evidence. With the compass in their hand, they would measure the works of the Creator; and if they cannot find out all their secret relations and connections, these sublime geniuses see nothing there but absurdities.

Virtue,

Virtue, is the first that falls a sacrifice to their merciless darts : but how should they respect her ? They understand neither her nature nor her properties : they know not even her name, unless it be to insult, to ridicule, and to persecute her. But you, my virtuous friend, you know her, you love her, you cherish her. You deserve to be happy : may you be so as long as I wish you. Adieu : accept my most humble compliments.

J. J. ROUSSEAU.

TO the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

SINCE the writing of my last letter, in which I mentioned the noble offer, which Sir James Cotter had made to the citizens of Oxford, viz. *that of following the instructions of his constituents*, if he should have the happiness to be chosen their representative ; I find, by the public papers, that those *worthy* citizens have (from what motive they themselves best know) rejected both Sir James and his offer, and chosen two other gentlemen to represent them in the ensuing parliament : a conduct, I must own, which I did not expect from the city of Oxford, nor from any other city, county, or borough in the kingdom ; as I imagined they had, all of them, too much sense, not to say virtue, obstinately to refuse, even when pressed upon them, the means of preserving their own liberties : but a conduct, I must add, which, upon second thoughts, I am less surprized to find in the citizens of Oxford, than in the inhabitants of any other part in the kingdom. 'Tis well known, that the university of Oxford has always been an enemy to liberty, and a friend to slavery ; has always cherished the detestable doctrine of divine, indefeasible hereditary right, and of passive obedience and non-resistance ; and that, among the famous propositions, which it condemned in the reign of king Charles the Second, was the following, viz. *that the people are the fountain of all legal power and government*. This proposition, I say, the university, to their eternal infamy, pronounced to be false, dangerous, and absurd ; and affirmed that all legal power and government is derived from our *heavenly-appointed kings*, who are obliged to allow the people no more liberty than they think proper.

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S s

Now,

Now, Sir, as these principles of slavery and despotism have always prevailed in the university, is it to be thought strange that they have at last reached the city, especially when recommended by so powerful an orator as Sir John Cust, speaker of the late house of commons; who in the reprimand he gave to the magistrates of Oxford, told them, that the example of the university, in every respect, but particularly in the choice of their members, was well worthy their imitation. I trust however, in God, the same principles have not infected the whole kingdom. If they have, then farewell to our liberties! we are not only an enslaved but an infatuated people: and indeed the loss of public liberty is always preceded by a kind of national madness: *quos deus perdere vult, prius dementat.*

R. S.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

IN compliance with the invitation which you gave in your last number to bring in complaints against the late parliament, I herewith send you a few detached articles, which I intend, some time or other, to draw out into a regular impeachment; and which I must beg of you, in the mean while, to transmit to the publick through the channel of your register. But first I must inform you, that ever since the foundation of the English government, my chief happiness has consisted in seizing every opportunity to ruin and destroy it. Hence it was, that, upon the meeting of the late parliament, I conceived the greatest hopes of being able to accomplish my design, knowing, as I thought I very well knew, the strong inclination of the generality of the members to forward my project. But how cruelly, Sir, how fatally have I been disappointed! from what causes, time, the great revealer of hidden truths, may perhaps discover.

I imagined, for instance, that the parliament would have approved of the late *excellent* peace (a most *excellent* one it was in my opinion) which restored to the enemy all the valuable conquests you had made during the war; conquests purchased at the trifling expence of sixty millions sterling (I wish to God the sum had been double!) conquests, which, had you retained them, would have given the English such a manifest superiority over both the branches of the Bourbon family, as would have effectually secured them against all danger from that quarter; and yet 'tis chiefly from that quarter, that I hope in time to bring about their ruin. But how

was

was I deceived? They disapproved of the peace almost unanimously. Nay, what was worse, instead of applauding, as I fondly expected, the conduct of the man, who had principally advised and concluded the peace; instead of cringing to him with the meanest servility; instead of allowing him to usurp the disposal of all places in the gift of the crown; and soliciting him for favours which he had as little right to bestow as they to receive: instead, I say, of behaving towards him in this manner, they preferred an impeachment against him, and made him pay, with his head, for the treachery he had been guilty of towards his native country, in order, if possible, to deter all future ministers from sacrificing the public welfare to their own avarice or ambition. In a word, Sir, they acted with such spirit, prudence, and patriotism on this occasion, as had well nigh filled me with despair.

My hopes indeed, were a little revived by a fresh incident. It was very generally reported, that the parliament would lay a tax upon cyder, and subject the makers of that liquor to all the laws of excise. This report, I say, Sir, gave me infinite pleasure; as I knew that, if the scheme was adopted it must be attended with the most beneficial consequences: and I reasoned in this manner: either the tax will be quietly submitted to or it will not: if it is, it will be a considerable step towards enslaving the people, as the excise-laws are the direct road to slavery; if it is not, it will either excite a rebellion, or it will oblige the parliament immediately to repeal it, and by that means expose themselves to the ridicule and contempt of the whole nation. I say, Sir, I plainly foresaw, that one of these must be consequence of imposing a tax upon cyder; and I therefore flattered myself with the prospect of some glorious mischief. But, alas! Sir, how were all my hopes once more frustrated! The parliament (such was their sagacity!) foresaw all these consequences; and (such was their virtue!) they rejected the scheme with the utmost indignation.

Disappointed thus a second time, I began, in good earnest, to give up all hopes of success, when I fortunately heard of another project, from which I expected to receive some considerable advantage. This was to enact a law permitting the free exportation of corn from England, at the very time that the people were almost starving for want of provisions. If such a law, said I to myself, should really be enacted, one of these two effects must certainly follow. Either the people, being driven to despair, will rise in arms, and will involve every thing in anarchy and confusion; or perhaps the king, with the advice of his council, will exercise his dispensing

power, and lay an embargo upon the shipping. In either of these cases, Sir, I should have thought myself extremely happy. In the former the government would have been totally overturned: in the latter the people would have been effectually enslaved; for if once the crown is allowed to be possessed of a dispensing power, all your laws and liberties are from that moment annihilated. But here again I found I had counted without my host. The parliament were too wise not to foresee these consequences, and too virtuous to suffer them to take effect. They passed no act for permitting the exportation of corn; and they even declared, that, if they had passed such an act, they would have inserted a clause in it, allowing the king, with the advice of his council, *legally and constitutionally* to lay an embargo upon the shipping, and cutting off all possible pretext for any exertion of the dispensing power.

In a word, Sir, by these and the like means the parliament at length became so popular, that the whole kingdom resounded with their praise. Every one was eager to shew them marks of his esteem and affection. Twenty thousand weavers at a time from the neighbourhood of Spitalfields waited upon them at St. Stephen's chapel, in order to return them thanks for the great care they had taken of their interests. The members, it is true, with that amiable modesty which is the inseparable companion of real merit, were rather shy in receiving their compliments. Nay some of them were so very bashful, that they even sneaked out at back doors and private passages, lest they should have been put to the blush with hearing their own praises. The populace, however, still insisted on paying their respects to them; and such, in particular, was the ardour of their zeal to testify their veneration for one patriotic nobleman, that not being able to open the door of his chariot, they actually broke the glass, in order to have the honour of touching the skirts of his garment.

These, Sir, are a few of the many causes of complaint, which I have against the last parliament: the others, which are no less weighty, I may perhaps communicate to you in some subsequent letter. In the mean time, I am, Sir, not your sincere friend, but your declared enemy,

THE EVIL GENIUS OF ENGLAND.

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A Good cause; but ill defended.
*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.*—————

Lionel and Clarissa: A Comic Opera. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent-Garden. 1s. 6d. Griffin.

A Certain person being asked what he thought of those high-strained compositions, which, though not wrote in rhyme, and not even in verse, have, or at least seem to have, all the elevation of poetry; and whether they were to be considered as poetry or prose; replied, that they were still prose, but prose run mad. In like manner it may be said of an opera, that it is still a play, but a play run mad. This
madness

madness, it is true, is more conspicuous in the serious than in the comic opera. In the former of these the performance sung from beginning to end; for the recitative surely is a species of musick, and a species of musick, we believe, which does not prevail in common conversation among any people upon earth, unless we except the Chinese, who always *speak*, it is said, as if they were *singing*: so that in a work of this kind, a man, shall not only tell you that it is a fine day or a cold night with a very harmonious tone of voice; but shall likewise call you a scoundrel, or threaten to blow out your brains, with the same melodious accent; as if he intended to compensate for the insignificance of his remark, or the rudeness of his address, by the charms of musick. The same absurdity, it must be owned, does not prevail in the comic opera, which indeed differs in nothing from a plain comedy, except that every scene, but for certain every act, concludes with a song; the actors probably thereby meaning to shew us, that whatever high words may pass between them in the course of the dialogue, they are determined at least to part good friends, and to finish their quarrel with a quaver. As to the opera now before us, it may safely be affirmed (and indeed we think the same may be affirmed of all this author's other opera's) that, considered as a play, it is a very poor and paltry performance; and that to examine it according to the rules of the drama would be just as reasonable, as to examine the ravings of a man in liquor by the rules of logic. Of the songs it may be said, that, with a very few exceptions, they are

—*Versus inopes rerum, nugæque canoræ.*

But perhaps it ought to be considered, that, among your singing people, it has long been held as a maxim, *that nothing is capable of being set to musick that is not nonsense*. Of the musick, indeed, we do not pretend to be competent judges; nor, in truth, are we very solicitous to acquire that character; for, on this subject, we readily subscribe to the sentiments of the ingenious Mr. Byrom, who, on occasion of the famous dispute between Handel and Bononcini in the beginning of the present century, made the following epigram:

Some say, compar'd to Bononcini,
That mynheer Handel's but a ninny:
Others affirm, that he to Handel
Is hardly fit to hold the candle.
Strange, that such disputes should be
'Bout Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee!

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THE chief, or rather the only recommendation of this work is, that the subject is, in a great measure, new; for it is handled, most evidently, in a very slight and superficial manner, and in a way that strongly betrays the youth and inexperience of the author. This writer is a professed admirer, we had almost said an idolizer, of Mr. Samuel Johnson, of whom, page 330, he affirms "that his comprehensive and vigorous understanding has, by long observation, attained to a perfect knowledge of human nature." Now begging the pardon of James Boswell, esq. we are of opinion, that neither Mr. Samuel Johnson, nor any other man, ever did, or ever can attain to a *perfect knowledge of human nature*; in this *state of imperfection* we mean. James Boswell esq. is too good a *christian* not to see the justness of this remark.

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JOHN WILKES

ELECTED KNIGHT OF THE SHIRE FOR MIDDLESEX

ON THE XXVIIITH OF MARCH, MDCCLXVIII

BY THE FREE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

T H E
POLITICAL REGISTER

For M A Y, 1768.

N U M B E R XIV.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

If you will be pleased to insert the few following Observations in your next Political Register, you will oblige your constant reader,
VERITAS.

ACCORDING to the constitution of this country, the House of Commons ought to consist of representatives freely chosen, either by the freeholders of the county, or by those inhabitants of the cities and boroughs, who by virtue of ancient customs have a right to vote. This assembly, when chosen, were intended to be a check on the power of the crown, to keep down the turbulent spirit of the barons, which in former times was so formidable, to take care of the public good in the first place, and afterwards to be particularly attentive that no injury be done to those parts of the country they severally represent. Have these great ends been answered at the late general election? Have not custom-house officers, excisemen, &c. &c. so great a sway in some places, as to give the crown an absolute power to appoint the members? Have not great peers, who have no legal right to interfere in elections at all, taken upon

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them

them to nominate the members for counties? Have they not at this time the command of most of the little boroughs in England, where lords' sons, cousins, chaplains, tenants, and even servants residing at a distance, are chosen burgessees, to the great prejudice of the inhabitants? Have not honorary freemen been so multiplied in other places, as in a manner to annihilate the votes of those who reside there?

If this is any where, or should at any time, be the case, I would recommend, that, for the future, instead of the usual style of our news-papers, A. B. was on such a day elected member for such a place, it ought to be,

Wednesday, March — Came on the election for the borough of —, when, in pursuance of an order from the Treasury, C. and D. were chosen by a great number of custom-house officers, excisemen, tide-waiters, &c. and a few others, without opposition.

Thursday, March — Lord C. sent down his mandamus to the borough of D. to choose his eldest son their representative, when, in obedience to his lordship's command, he was elected accordingly: his younger son, two chaplains, his cousin, and two other of his relations, who, by his lordship's interest had been appointed burgessees, were present, as usual, to preserve the freedom of elections. N. B. The above-mentioned persons amounted to near half of the number of voters in this borough.

Friday, March — Lord D. sent down his mandamus to the borough of E. to two of his chaplains, six of his domestic-servants, four of his tenants, and a few other abject fellows who were mean enough to be dictated to, and, in pursuance of his lordship's order, two nabobs who had contracted with his lordship for the moderate sum of 7000 l. were returned by his lordship's steward, the mayor, without opposition.

Monday, March — There was a great contest between the duke of — and the earl of — at F. when, after a hard struggle, the candidates nominated by his grace were elected by a great majority.

Tuesday, March — A great body of honorary freemen collected from most of the different counties in England, marched into the borough of W. and, by the assistance of a very small number of the inhabitants, obliged the town to return M. and S. for their representatives.

Wednesday, March — The long dispute between the marquis of S. and Lord M. ended this day, when it was determined that the marquis shall be dictator, and appoint the members for the next seven years, and he appointed them accordingly.

Are

Are these things so? If they are not, I hope some other pen will contradict them; for the inferences to be drawn from the above hypothesis must strike every reader, but are too melancholy to be expressed.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Copy of a Letter sent to a certain B—— on account of a pragmatical Interposition in a late Election for the U—— of O——.

My Lord,

THOUGH an entire stranger to your lordship's person, I cannot excuse myself from addressing you; and I flatter myself, that your own example will sufficiently justify me in the liberty I have taken, of *intermeddling in an affair which does not immediately concern me.*

A man of your penetration will easily see, that I allude to your activity in a late election for the u—— of O——; an u——, which having not been honoured with your education, had not the least claim to be distinguished by such *particular notice.* Perhaps, my lord, an earlier connection with it might have given birth to a different conduct upon this occasion, and have prevented all those disagreeable sensations, which the want of success, and the honest freedom of undisguised reproof, may probably excite in your lordship's breast.

You sent, it seems, to many of those who fill, or expect to fill, your list of Whitehall preachers, a peremptory mandate to vote for a person, who, for reasons that do honour to your lordship's *discretion*, was favoured with your countenance and support. The conveyance of this message, which required all the softening of delicacy of address and modesty of expression could give it, was unfortunately entrusted to a man, whose native insolence of disposition is but too visible under the mask of an awkward and ill-dissembled gaiety. You have since, we are informed, in the true spirit of *Ego & rex meus*, expressed your surprise that any of the *king's servants* durst vote against you. The veneration, which I entertain for the episcopal order, has made me an unwilling spectator of the universal scorn and contempt, with which these declarations have been received. "Is it then," say they, "as the world has long suspected? Is it required by the dispensers of preferment, that the price of a subsistence must be the surrender of

that invaluable jewel of human nature, the right of private judgment? Does his lordship hold forth his scanty rewards to merit on such illiberal terms?" My lord, it is a maxim in commerce, that gold itself may be bought too dear; and surely it must be so, when we barter for it the use of our rational faculty, that sacred part of our nature, which separates us from brutes, and assimilates us to God himself.

The greater part of the u—— of O—— is composed of men whom not all the temporal splendor of the see of L——n could prevail upon to accept it on a tenure, that would set them infinitely below the meanest freeholder of Great-Britain. And could your lordship be serious in imagining that such men, for the paltry consideration of four and twenty pounds per ann. (*deductis deducendis*) could sacrifice their judgments, and prostitute their consciences? A person, who has been so critical an observer of the connection of events in the political system, could never surely hope for such an effect from so inadequate a cause, nor imagine that any gentlemen could hold your *preferments* (I abuse the word) upon such terms, when it is matter of surprize to the whole u——, that they should accept them upon any.

The misfortune is, your lordship, an entire stranger to the constitution of this place, has formed your opinion of us from the temper of our sister u——, or from the disposition of your own chaplains. Of our sister (viewed in a political light) we think with compassion, and speak with tenderness; *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*; the ruins of an university are sacred. As to your chaplains indeed, my lord, they are below contempt. Men hackneyed in your lordship's service; dead, as they must be, to every delicate feeling, to every liberal sentiment that a polite education could inspire—I leave to their proper punishment—the insolence of their superior. But could your lordship suspect no difference between such men, formed upon the rigid canons of court-servility, whose only merit is that of a blind mechanical obedience, and the members of an u——, employed in the investigation of valuable truths, and the pursuit of manly and liberal knowledge? Cultivated understandings are not to be complimented away at so cheap a rate; and your lordship will find we are determined to preserve them, if for no other purpose but that of ridiculing the ill-timed arrogance of those, whom the caprice of the great has elevated to stations, that were designed for men of different tempers. Excuse me, if I ever lose sight of that respect, which is due to your lordship's rank and profession :

fection: I really cannot preserve it towards one, who has taught me, by his own example, to forget them.

An authority, which your lordship's *politeneſs* will not allow you to contradict, has told us, that pride was not made for man: but, if there be a person in whom that quality is particularly disgusting to God, and odious to mankind, it is he who, professing himself the peculiar disciple of a meek and lowly master, lords it over the consciences of his brethren, and abuses a power, consecrated to spiritual uses, to the private ends of vanity and ambition. Indeed, my lord, human life has not, in its whole collection of absurdities and contradictions, one more offensive to the sober eye of reason and religion, than that of a secular ecclesiastick.

I am happy in observing, that the men, to whom the education of youth is committed, are in general such, as will form the rising generation to principles of moral and political virtue; who, warmed by the sacred flame of liberty from the fires of Grecian and Roman eloquence, will transmit it down to latest posterity. We have long been the depositaries of polite and useful knowledge, the guardians of civil and religious freedom; we are determined to continue so. And, however the legislature may dispose of our revenues, together with the more ample endowments of the church, in the future distresses of our country, which threaten to involve the intire subversion of private property, I trust they will never deprive us of those sentiments of honour and integrity, which alone render us the worthy possessors of what the piety of our ancestors has conferred upon us. The narrow principles of a party we abhor; the narrower principles of self-interest we despise; enemies to all arbitrary doctrines as much as your lordship, we are enemies likewise to *arbitrary practices*.

The miseries and hardships of the inferior clergy have been, in part, delineated by one who severely felt them. The species of tyranny, which your lordship has attempted to exercise, is yet untouched upon. I am a person whose circumstances enable me to set your lordship's smiles and frowns equally at defiance, and to whom the word *bishop*, by some late applications of it, is become no sound either of terror, or admiration. At present I content myself with this anonymous remonstrance: but if you shall, on any future occasion, forget the decorum of your own character, and the respect due to the U——, depend upon it, that L——th itself, the *real* object of ecclesiastical politics, shall not protect you from the resentment of the world; you shall see yourself held up to the indignation and contempt of the publick, by one whom
you

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you little expect. In the mean time, I take my leave, and am sorry that your behaviour will not allow me to shew myself in any other way, but that of *honest advice*,

Your sincere friend.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

THE introducing soldiers into the city of London on a public rejoicing, and an advertisement from the court of common council, in defence of the windows of the chief magistrate, are matters so new, that, lest they should be drawn into precedent, their rectitude deserves a serious enquiry.

In the most arbitrary countries, every tumultuous assembly is not considered as an offence; they must be assembled for some unlawful act: but in a government any way partaking of democracy, regard ought always to be paid to the opinion of the people, although they may be mistaken. If his Majesty issues his proclamation for a general fast, and a quaker, through a pretence of religion, should open his shop, if he is insulted, will any body think him a proper object of commiseration? Or if a chief magistrate, whose duty it is to preserve peace and order, should oppose and inflame the general passions of the people, whilst in an innocent and lawful pursuit, 'till they arrive to the height that nothing less than a military power is able to preserve order, has such a magistrate any excuse? If the people are mistaken in their rejoicings, their passion is gratified, and order is kept by the lighting up three or four pounds of candles; but the introducing military force into the city of London, is a reflection on its magistracy, a violation of the charter, and a breach of the rights of the citizens of London. In all times, the views of administrations and the people have been different; and in all rejoicings, there are some who do not heartily concur. It has been as constantly the practice of the majority of the people to expect a conformity by putting out lights at rejoicings, as shutting up shops at fasts, though neither are strictly enjoined by the laws of the land; and for the most part the lord-mayor of London has, by inclination, joined in the general joy. Some few instances there are to the contrary; the first which occurs, is that of Sir William Billers, who, when the people were celebrating the anniversary of defeating the excise-scheme, was not content with distinguishing his attachment to ministerial interest, by refusing to put out lights at his own house, but
threw

threw the whole city into confusion by attempting to put out the lights which were placed on the Monument; for which the people broke his head, and all his windows: and in this affray many persons were taken into custody, and committed to the Compters: he complained to the minister, who had the sense to ask him, what he did from home? Alderman Barber, the lord-mayor who succeeded, being a man of better understanding, gave the charge to the grand-jury himself, very rightly recommending to them to consider and distinguish between the excesses of rejoicing on a national deliverance, and a riot intended for public mischief and destruction; that no very tumultuous assembly was ever without some disorder, and that, if the intention was not criminal, they would not punish the effect of a little warmth. In consequence of which, that grand-jury, to their immortal honour, returned back every bill of indictment ignoramus, and Sir William Billers lived and died despised. The taking of Porto-Bello with six ships only was matter of great exultation to the nation, and mortification to the ministry, who had always opposed the Spanish war. For some time the people annually rejoiced; and if my lord mayor had refused to join with them, I have no doubt they would have broke his windows: but as there was no mansion house, if his windows had been broke, he would have had no pretence to apply to the city for the charge of repairing them; and therefore I do not recollect any such instance of obstinacy. But if the court of common-council are to adopt a rule of indemnifying their chief magistrate, whenever, from interested views, he refuses to concur with the general joy, they are justifying an obstinacy in their chief magistrate, which will want a military force to defend it, and this in time must destroy the constitution. As the present chief magistrate has marked his character by so many efficacious strokes of resentment against Mr. Wilkes, it is necessary to call to mind with what vast parade two large loads of faggots were brought and piled up in the middle of Cornhill, for no other purpose, as pretended, than to burn the North-Briton, consisting of half a sheet of paper. This large mass of wood naturally excited the laughter and indignation of the mob, who, having waited a long time in expectation of the sheriffs, were from thence furnished with sticks, and, growing wanton, the sheriffs not coming in their usual manner, a young fellow was so very impudent as to throw one of them, which hit the present chief magistrate, for which he received a very severe punishment. At the last election for members for the city of London, the sheriffs declared the election to have

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have fallen on the right honorable the lord-mayor, Sir Robert Ladbroke, Alderman Beckford, and John Wilkes, esq. but my lord-mayor refused to concur in their choice, and to join in an advertisement with Mr. Wilkes during the whole course of the poll. His lordship forgot that he stood upon the hustings as a candidate, and not as lord-mayor; and so far did his zeal carry him, that many persons he seized with his own hands, and, on pretence of breach of the peace, put on hand-cuffs. In short, the whole of his behaviour was so arbitrary and unconstitutional, that had not Mr. Wilkes gone away immediately on closing the poll, and his lordship sheltered himself by Mr. Beckford's presence, he would certainly have felt the resentment of an enraged and insulted populace. Can it then be thought extraordinary, that the populace, provoked by so many acts of a magistrate whose duty it was to preserve order and to oblige, should suffer their anger to exceed the bounds of reason and strict justice; and have not the common-council of London, by repairing the effects of popular resentment, established a precedent for the indemnity of every fool and rascal, who shall assume a right to censure the rejoicings of the people? Will not the populace think themselves hurt by being deprived of a privilege they have always enjoyed; and which never can be exercised but as an expression of their joy? and may not worse consequences arise from stifling their joy, than suffering it to blaze out at so innocent and trifling an expence?

One of the most distinguished merits of the present chamberlain, was his dismissing, and refusing the assistance of military aid at the execution of unhappy Penlez, who was executed on that odious and unconstitutional law the riot-act, against the sense of the people. If a sensible civil magistrate did not want military aid for an execution generally condemned, is it not a disgrace to government, that a man should be entrusted with the care of the populace, who cannot, or will not, regulate their joy; but is reduced, in such circumstances, to apply for military aid? It is absurd to say he was absent; no mayor ought to be absent; and if he was so, his orders were as impudently followed as ignorantly given. Can such a magistrate expect the applause of his fellow citizens? ought he not rather to reflect, that the people cannot better shew their understanding than by their scorn, contempt, derision, and hisses?

For

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

IN your last number you entertained your readers with an eighteen days faithful journal of the Favourite. I now send you a few anecdotes of another great man, from which the public will learn, that, in order to countenance the shameful concupiscence of the master, the servant goes a length beyond him, in affronting modesty, and bidding defiance to decency and virtue.

Towards the close of the last session, the f—t L—d of the T—y was *missing*. In a day or two it came out, that his G—e was gone down to the sea coast with Miss N—y P—s, to attend her on board a vessel for France. About the end of March an express arrived at Dover, ordering one of the packets to be got ready for the *confidential* S—y of the T—y. He came in the evening, and embarked for Calais: various were the speculations of the people at Dover on the purport of this embassy in such a busy time. Lo! the S—y returned with his errand, Miss N—y P—s in his hand. On Wednesday the 14th of April his G—e attended Mrs. H—n, *commonly* called Miss N—y P—s, to Ranelagh; and the Saturday following, he introduced her into the opera, and sat behind her in waiting. I pass over his setting her at the head of his table, and entertaining no company who don't pay respect to her; his airings with her in a phaeton, and her appearance at Newmarket; because other profligates do the like: but it is only the prerogative of a f—t m—r to appear with his w—e in public, and to shew her more respect than he ever shewed to his wife.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

WE are, I believe, the most unreasonable, discontented beings upon the face of the earth: we do not deserve a good ministry, for we do not know when we have one. What, because the mob is a little riotous, shall that hinder a gentleman (who happens to be prime minister) from taking his pleasure in the country with the lady of his heart? I do

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not

not imagine that the public is apprized how that fact stands; they could never, I am sure, complain if they did.—A day or two before the election for the county of Middlesex—A lady, no matter what she was; most people now know who she is: I say nothing of her education, but that—it was of a public nature; nor will I say any thing more than, that she is now very pretty company, and very accomplished, and appeal to the gentlemen who cut in at quadrille with her, or who sat with her at the opera in the gallery, and who must attend her upon the score of her personal accomplishments, and not because she is mistress to the D. of —, and may help them to many fair preferences. This lady was said to be dangerously ill, and was accordingly conducted to the edge of the water, some say to the other side of it, by a very ductile, bowing, acquiescing S——y. In the cruel intervals of separation, the pains of her disorder were trifling, indeed, in comparison of the anxieties which harrowed up her soul upon the reports which reached her, differing, indeed, in circumstance, but equally fatal to her, of an intended reconciliation between his g—e and the d—fs, or of a connexion with some handsomer female. Fear, love, jealousy, resentment, give her strength and spirits, and she knocks in Grosvenor-Square, at the period abovementioned. As it was necessary that the public should, at the same time that it was acquainted with her return, have some signal proof of the resumption of her empire, a journey to E—n was proposed and acceded to. No matter what business, what danger, what decency might call for—down they go to celebrate the *return of the prodigal*—at the end of two or three days, when the edge of novelty was taken off, he began to think that it might not be amiss, just to enquire whether his own house was not burnt or pulled down. To town he comes, and having settled a c—— to meet on the 11th of April, *i. e.* 13 days after the riot had happened, which was full time enough to know what was proper to be done, he sets out for Newmarket. This, Sir, is a plain tale, and contains, without comment, a full vindication of the d——. I will only add, that the appointment of the c—— so long *after* the tumult, was peculiarly judicious, as it gave time for people to settle their own opinions, or to learn from others, what they think must have happened had the c—— been held immediately. L—d B's disciples would, without hesitation, have pronounced it a gross insult upon the ———, and an affront to the laws: they have now, in the ordinary phrase, lowered their note, and the

Monf. D—t's Letter to John Wilkes, Esq; 331

the Thane's runners (D—, P—, B—) now style it
an election mob, a quiet, peaceable, placable piece of fun.
Yours, FACT.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

*Lettre de M. D——t à M. Wilkes, Membre du Parle-
ment d'Angleterre.*

Monsieur,

Paris, le 2 d'Avril, 1768.

J'AI reçu, avec la plus grande joie, la nouvelle de votre élec-
tion : j'étois chez M. le président de —, quand on me
remit votre lettre ; elle fut lue aussitôt, et toute la compagnie,
qui étoit fort nombreuse, fut ravie de votre succès. Vos
vertus sociales rendront, toujours et partout, votre mémoire
chère et précieuse à vos amis, et la justice que l'on vous a
rendue avec tant d'éclat, vous dédommage de votre exil.
Qu'il est doux de régner sur des cœurs ! vous avez ceux de
vos concitoyens ; ils vous sont dus ; vous avez soutenu leurs
droits : enfans de liberté, ils en ont couronné le défenseur.

Le suffrage presque unanime des électeurs en votre faveur,
est la preuve la plus incontestable de leur impartialité. La
corruption et les maneges clandestins, qui sont si fréquens
dans toutes les élections, n'ont pas eu lieu dans la vôtre :
l'amour de la liberté a enflammé tous les cœurs, et vous a
procuré leurs voix. Et je ne doute pas, qu' à Londres même,
où les intérêts différens de commerce font jouer tant de res-
sorts, vous n'eussiez été élu, si vos électeurs eussent été
aussi libres dans la maison de ville, qu' ils sont intéressés dans
leur négoce : l'intérêt, vous le savez, régit l'univers.

Vos procédés pacifiques vous font un honneur infini, et
vos principes généreux et patriotiques iront avec vous à
l'immortalité. Vous quittez Paris, séjour agréable, où votre
conduite vous a procuré tant d'amis ; et malgré tous les agré-
mens que nous avons tâché de vous y procurer, pour vous en
rendre le séjour agréable, vous oubliez tous les dangers, pour
aller soutenir les droits de votre patrie. Coriolan médite la
ruine de la sienne, et sous prétexte de lui procurer la liberté,
lui propose de recueillir des entraves, après avoir démoli ses
murs : animé d'un plus noble motif, vous y allez en paci-
ficateur, et pour prix de ce que vous avez souffert pour elle,
vous ne demandez qu' à lui être utile : à l'instant Londres
vous ouvre ses portes, et les citoyens leurs cœurs ; mais la

plupart des électeurs, retenus ou intimidés par la puissante influence des autres candidats, n'ont pas osé vous donner leurs suffrages : l'indépendante et à jamais célèbre comté de Middlesex vous a dédommagé et des secrètes machinations des uns et de la timide pusillanimité des autres.

L'Europe sera surprize de votre patriotisme et de votre succès ou plutôt, l'Europe admirera l'un, et se réjouira de l'autre : je suis le premier à vous en féliciter, et à joindre mes congratulations à celles de tous les amis du genre humain ; il n'est pas fait pour porter des chaînes. L'auguste sénat Britannique comptera encore un Wilkes parmi ses membres les plus illustres, et la liberté de votre patrie un généreux défenseur de ses droits. J'ai l'honneur d'être très-parfaitement.

D—t.

T R A N S L A T I O N.

A Letter from Mr. D—t to John Wilkes, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the County of Middlesex.

S I R,

Paris, April 2, 1768.

I Received, with the greatest pleasure, the news of your election. I happened to be with the president —, when your letter was delivered to me : it was immediately read ; and the whole company, which was very numerous, was overjoyed at your success. Your social virtues will, at all times, and in all places, render your memory dear and precious to your friends ; and the justice, which has been done you in so public and distinguished a manner, indemnifies you sufficiently for the hardships of your exile. How pleasing it is to reign in the hearts of men ! you reign in those of your fellow-citizens : you deserve to reign in them : you have supported their rights ; and genuine sons of freedom, as they are, they have crowned, with applause, the champion of their liberties.

The uncommon unanimity with which the electors voted in your favour, is an uncontestable proof of their impartiality. The bribery, corruption, and underhand arts, which are so frequent in almost all elections, had no place in yours : the love of liberty fired every breast, and procured you the suffrage of the independent electors. And I doubt not but you might have been chosen for London itself, where the different interests arising from trade set so many secret springs in motion, had the electors been as free in Guildhall, as they are interested in their commerce : but interest, you know, governs the world

Your

Your quiet and peaceable demeanor does you infinite honour; and your generous and patriotic principles will render your name immortal. You quitted Paris, that agreeable retreat, where your amiable and gentleman-like behaviour hath gained you so many friends; and notwithstanding all the amusements which we endeavoured to procure for you, in order to render your stay the more agreeable, you overlooked all dangers, and flew to support the rights of your country. Coriolanus meditated the ruin of his; and under pretext of securing her liberties, proposed she should receive the galling yoke of slavery, after having demolished her walls. Actuated by a motive infinitely more noble, you go to yours in the character of a peace-maker; and, as a reward of all that you have suffered for her sake, you ask nothing but the power of being further serviceable to her. In the same instant London opens to you her gates, and the citizens their hearts; but the greater part of the electors, restrained or intimidated by the powerful influence of the other candidates, durst not venture to give you their votes. The independent and famous county of Middlesex, however, has indemnified you for the secret machinations of the one, and the base pusillanimity of the other. Europe will be surprized at your patriotism and your success; or rather Europe will admire the one, and rejoice at the other. I am the first to felicitate you on the occasion, and to join my congratulations to those of all the friends of the human race, which was certainly never intended to wear fetters. The august senate of Great-Britain will still count a Wilkes among its most illustrious members; and the liberty of your country will still find in you a generous defender of its rights and privileges. I have the honour to be, with the greatest sincerity, D—T.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

A List of English and Irish titles (exclusive of those of the Blood Royal) created since the Year 1760, during the Administrations of the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Bute, the Rt. Hon. George Grenville, the Marquis of Rockingham, and the Duke of Grafton.

B R I T I S H.

1761.	{	George Dodington	Lord Melcombe
		Tho. Robinson	Lord Grantham
Barons	{	Richard Grosvenor	Lord Grosvenor
		Nathaniel Curzon	Lord Scarsdale
		William Irby	Lord Boston
Viscount		John Spencer	Viscount Spencer

John

<i>Earls</i>	{	John West	Earl Delawar, Viscount Cantalupé
		William Talbot	Earl Talbot, Lord Hensel
1762.	{	John Percival	Lord Lovel and Holland, Earl of Egmont in Ireland
		John Montagu	Lord Mountague, eldest son to the Earl of Cardigan
<i>Barons</i>	{	Joseph Damer	Lord Milton
		Edward Montagu	Lord Beaulieu
		Geo. Ven. Vernon	Lord Vernon
		George Lane	Lord Bingley
<i>Viscounts</i>	{	Edward Noel	Viscount Wentworth
		William Courtney	Viscount Courtney
1763.	{	Henry Fox	Lord Holland
		John Ligonier	Lord Ligonier, Visc. Ligonier in Ireland
<i>Viscount</i>	{	John Ward	Viscount Dudley and Ward
		Mary Stuart	Baroness Mount Stuart
1764.	{	Hester Pitt	Baroness of Chatham
		Caroline Fox	Baroness Holland
1765.	{	Robert Henley	E. of Northington, L. Henley
		W. Pleydel Bouverie	E. of Radnor, Visc. Folkestone
<i>Earls</i>	{	John Spencer	Earl Spencer Visc. Althorp
		Charles Pratt	Lord Camden
<i>Barons</i>	{	Henry Digby	Lord Digby, and Ld Digby in Ireland
		Charles Maynard	Visc. Maynard, Ld Much-Easton, also Ld Maynard
1766.	{	William Pitt	Earl of Chatham, Visc. Pitt
		John Ligonier	Earl Ligonier, Visc. Ligonier in Ireland
<i>Dukes</i>	{	Hugh Percy	Duke of Northumberland, Earl Percy Ld Warkworth
		George Montagu	D. of Montagu, Marq. of Monthermer E. of Cardigan, Lord Brudenel
<i>Baron</i>	{	John Campbell	Ld Sundridge, eldest son to the D. of Argyle, Titular Marquiss of Lorn
		Carolina Campbell	Baroness of Greenwich, Widow of the late C. Townsh.

B A R O N E T S.

1761.	Sir Charles Apgill	1762.	Sir Edward Baynton
	Sir Th. Rufford Hesketh		Sir Onesiphorous Paul
	Sir George Beaumont	1763.	Sir Matthew Blakiston
	Sir John Hussey Delaval		Sir Jarrit Smith

Sir

	Sir Lawrence Dundas	Sir William Mildmay
	Sir Herbert Lloyd	1766. Sir Joseph Andrews
	Sir William Mayne	Sir William East
1764.	Sir George Amyand	Sir Merrich Burrel
	Sir William Duncan	Sir John Moore
	Sir Henry Moore	Sir George Thomas
	Sir William Horton	Sir John Pringle
	Sir W. Morden Harbord	Sir Henry Cheere
	Sir Samuel Gordon	Sir Jacob Wolfe
	Sir William Lowther	1767. Sir William Burnaby
	Sir G. Bridges Rodney	Sir Thomas Champneys
1765.	Sir Samuel Cornish	Sir Peter Dennis
	Sir Charles Knowles	Sir Robert Ralph Foley
	Sir John Major	Sir John Hort
	Sir Joseph Mawby	Sir Edw. Knatchbull

I R I S H.

1761.	Edward Turnoux	Lord Winterton
Barons	Gabriel Hanger	Lord Colraine
	Robert Clive	Lord Clive
Earls	George Carpenter	Earl of Tyrconnel Viscount Carlingford
	John Rawdon	Earl of Moyra Lord Rawden
Marquifs	James Fitzgerald	Marquifs of Kildare; eldest son, Lord Offley
1762.	Francis Vernon	Lord Orwell
Barons	Drig. Billers Olmuis	Lord Waltham
Viscount	Thomas Taylor	Viscount Headfort
Earls	Arthur Gore	Earl of Arran Vis. Sudley
	James Stopford	E. of Courtown, Vis. Stopford
1763.	John Stretford	Lord Baltinglafs
Barons	Usher St. George	Lord St. George, Baron of Hatley St. George
Viscount	Harvey Morres	Viscount Mount Morres
	Joseph Leefon	E. of Miltown V. Rufsborough
Earls	Robert Maxwell	E. of Farnham, Vis. Farnham
	Robert Knight	E. of Catherlough, Vis. Barrels
	James Caulfield	E. Charlemont, Ld Caulfield
1764.	Ralph Gore	Lord Gore
Barons	Edward King	Lord Kingfton
	Stephen Moore	Lord Kilworth
1765.	George Pigot	Lord Pigot
Barons	John Gore	Lord Annaly
Viscounts	Stephen Moore	Viscount Mount Cashell
	Arthur Trevor	Viscount Dungannon
Viscountefs	Eliz. Ormsby Rowley	Viscountefs Langford
Countefs	Elizabeth Mafon	Coun. Grandifon, Vis. Villiers
		John

336 *New Peers created since the Year 1760.*

<i>Earls</i>	{	John Saville	E. of Mexborough, V. Pollingt.
		Edward Turnour	Earl Winterton, V. Turnour
1766.	{	William Annesley	Viscount Glerawly
<i>Viscounts</i>	{	Edward King	Viscount Kingston
		John Meade	Viscount Clan William
		Kenneth Mackenzie	Viscount Fortrose
<i>Earls</i>	{	Nicholas Loftus	Earl of Ely, Viscount Loftus
		Thomas Taylor	Earl Beſtive, Viſ. Headfort
<i>Duke</i>	{	James Fitzgerald	Duke of Leinſter, Marquiſs
1767.			of Kildare
<i>Baron</i>		Conſtantine Phipps	Lord Mulgrave
<i>Viſcount</i>		Robert Nugent	Viſcount Clare
	{	Tho. St. Lawrence	Earl of Howth, eldeſt ſon Ld
			St. Lawrence
<i>Earls</i>	{	Charles Coote	Earl of Bellamont, eldeſt
40.			ſon Lord Collony

1761. Sir William Yorke	1764. Sir Arthur Brooke
1763. Sir James May	1766. Sir John Blunden
Sir Robert Blackwood	Sir Richard St. George
Sir James Cottet	Sir John Petrell

	T O T A L S.	
3 Dukes	at 12,000	£. 36,000
1 Marquiss		8,000
21 Earls	7,000	147,000
1 Countess		7,000
14 Viscounts	6,000	84,000
1 Viscountess		6,000
29 Barons	5,000	145,000
4 Baronesses	5,000	20,000
46 Baronets	2,000	92,000
120		545,000

Which sum, had it been raised by the disposal of these titles, might have unburthened the public of so much debt as the arrears of the Civil List is likely to create.—But tho' this opportunity was lost, that need not hinder us from establishing a fund of this nature hereafter, except where such uncommon merit as admiral Hawke's has an undoubted claim. 2. How much was paid by the peers created in 1747?

The most striking creation, in the English peerage, is that of 12 peers in 1711, in order to cram down the peace of Utrecht.

The conferring of titles, in many of our reigns, has been confined to statesmen of distinguished virtue and abilities, to admirals and generals remarkable for their courage and conduct, or to eminent lawyers; when this line has been departed from, the crown has been dishonoured, the ministers been looked upon as unfit for their stations, the persons attempted to be dignified been held in contempt, and the nation's honour been sullied by a tribe of w— nobility.

For

*Seasonable Hints on the Meeting of a new Parliament.**Published in the Year 1761; and supposed to be written by the late LORD BATH.*

EVERY great and national object, that can deserve the attention of the present age, and fix the happiness or misery of this country, to latest posterity, must necessarily come under the consideration of the next parliament.—Diseases in the body politic, equally with those in the natural body, have their crisis; and whoever sits down to ruminate on the present state and situation of this kingdom, if he has any share of political sagacity, will see but too much reason to conclude, that by a train of measures, the constitution has been undermined; and by a wantonness of expence we are, at last, brought almost to the very brink of a precipice, which imagination can scarcely survey, without horror.

To recover this constitution before it be entirely lost, to inquire into the causes of the increase of our immense debt, and to devise means of lessening it, must, therefore, be the great object of the ensuing parliament, otherwise ruin and destruction will at last overtake us.

Had the long peace that succeeded, from the treaty of Utrecht, to the breaking out of the Spanish war in 1738, been properly employed, in lessening our debts, and reforming abuses connected with them, we should not, at this time of day, have had any gloomy apprehensions concerning their consequences. But, by an uninterrupted course of borrowing, a total neglect of paying off, and by a corrupt want of oeconomy in spending, we have, at last, been sunk into such an abyss of distress, that our constitution, nay our very existence as an independent kingdom, seems verging to annihilation.

An honest and independent parliament, seconded, nay, rather excited by the patriotism and virtue which now adds fresh lustre to majesty, will do wonders still towards saving us. Should the national debt (at once the cause and effect of the languishing state of constitutional freedom) be suffered to remain at its present enormous height, we need not be surprized, if, like a bubble filled with air, it burst of itself, as the *South sea scheme* formerly did. And if this should happen, let any true Englishman think what extensive destruc-

tion must be spread over the whole kingdom. Thousands nay millions, must be brought to immediate and irremediable ruin. And what rage, what slaughter, what anarchy this may occasion, it is better for us to try to prevent, than to describe. Credit is a thing of so delicate a nature, that the least distrust may occasion the total loss of it: when that is gone, all sinks at once with it; but the hand of the legislature, by feeling the pulse of the nation, may apply such parliamentary remedies, as may support credit, and think of some scheme for a regular, though slow payment, of our debt.

One circumstance alone is too alarming not to be carefully attended to: foreigners have got a vast share of this debt into their hands. Perhaps our amazing loans of late years never could have been filled, had not annual millions of foreign money poured in upon us. But if this has been a temporary relief, and enabled us to go on with the war, think how it will distress us in time of full peace. If we suppose foreigners to be in possession of thirty millions in our stocks, (much of which has been bought in at twenty-five and thirty *per cent.* discount) the interest of this money will drain the kingdom of perhaps a million and a half every year. And when once it happens, that foreigners draw more from this country for their interest in our funds, than we gain from them, by balance of trade, she shall be actually in a state of incurable consumption, and the whole enquiry will be, how long the patient may be able to drag out a miserable existence.

What scheme can possibly be devised, to lessen the intolerable burthen, it is not for me to determine: but this every one may foresee, that much will depend on the future state of our commerce. If by an increase of that, the produce of the *sinking fund* is augmented, the religious, and inviolable application of this annual sum (without which no plan of payment can ever succeed) will, in case we be so happy as to enjoy a lasting peace, ease this poor country of great part of that load under which she now sinks, and under the weight of which, I fear, it will be impossible for it ever to rise again, to make efforts to save itself from the future attempts of our inveterate and insidious enemy.

But if the increase of commerce, and the religious application of the *sinking fund*, will be a foundation for devising some scheme of reducing our debt; with such a parliament as we now wish to have, what may we not also expect, by a due attention to national œconomy? — Were a minute enquiry

enquiry to be made into the unnecessary expence in collecting our revenue, and into the infinite and abominable abuses and frauds that are practised; in almost every branch of it, I make not the least doubt, that such an annual saving could be made, as would be of the highest consequence in the present distressed circumstances of the state. Want of economy, and culpable profusion, will soon disorder the affairs of the richest person; but one whose estate is loaded with tenfold mortgages, must be a madman, who goes on in a course of wanton riot, and suffers himself to be preyed upon by a swarm of unnecessary, dishonest, and expensive domestics. Were an honest parliament to look into the management of our *custom-house*, and there to observe, that there is scarcely a single place that is not executed by deputies, if not by the deputies of deputies; were they to carry on their inquiry through the many offices that have the care of every other part of our income; they would, without abolishing one place really useful, or diminishing one salary more than it ought to be, make retrenchments that would, in a course of few years, ease us of the load of millions.

The single article of unnecessary pensions, which times of corruption have so amazingly increased, would be an annual fund, to enable a virtuous monarch, oppressed by his greedy courtiers, to lend a most effectual assistance towards the glorious work of saving the state. Such hath been the fashion of the times, that pensions have been asked, for every reason but the single one, for which they ought to be given — the indigence of the pensioner; nay, they have been increased, in proportion as the persons who obtained them were opulent. To such an unhappy state hath the crown been reduced, that almost every *great man*, who is turned out of employment, or who retires from it, though he is master of a noble estate, and has added to his wealth by his places, thinks he has a right to be put upon the list of *pensioners*, and to have thousands a year settled upon him for life; or some valuable reversion for his children. In order to expose the absurdity of all such extravagant profusion of the public money, consider how many persons are rendered miserable, by this seeming piece of good-nature: What loads we entail upon our unhappy posterity, whose teeth will be set on edge by the sour grapes their great great grandfathers have tasted, to feed one luxurious and expensive man. — If the pension be 4000 l. a year, four thousand middling families must contribute to bear his extravagance: twenty shillings a year must be continued on 4000 houses, to enable him to make a birth-day dinner, or to stake his thousands at a Pharoah table. For

the future let us denominate pensions, by the name of taxes; and say that my lord such a one runs away with the *fortieth* part of the *salt duty*; that another spends about *two thirds* a year, out of the tax on *tallow*; and that a third drinks prodigiously deep, from the severe additional duty on *Porter's ale*.

But besides devising means of payment, an honest, and independent parliament will find it incumbent on them, to enquire immediately into the first rise, and the rapid progress of our present amazingly *multiplied* incumbrances.

If we should take up the consideration of this important affair, from the year 1716; when the sinking fund was first established, or from any other later period, we shall find that scarcely any of the debt which we now groan under, has ever been accounted for; and I fancy it will be extremely difficult ever to account for it properly to the public. Not one, perhaps, for many years, of the money-offices, has ever thought of passing any account; and a late *paymaster*, when he was asked how he intended to pass some intricate accounts, had the honesty, or rather the effrontery to own, with a smile, that he never designed they should be passed. I wish this may not be a principle adopted by our public officers in general, who without fear of inquiry, or censure, daily suffer most amazing sums to pass through their hands, which I am sure can never be accounted for by the regular ways of the Exchequer. How is it possible, for instance, to produce satisfactory vouchers for the incredible amount of our German contingencies? Can the confused expences of our West Indian, and American expeditions, ever be sufficiently explained? — And surely it is highly unreasonable that privy seals should be granted, to indemnify those who are accountable for the expensiture of such sums; at least till the *chaos* has been brought into some order, by parliamentary examination.

But nothing will be more necessary, when the honest days of serious inquiry commence, than to sift to the bottom the state of the navy accounts. For the management of this branch of our service has been as extravagant, as it is little understood. I almost blush to mention (but the fact is too certain) that in this department particularly, estimates seem to have been annually laid before parliament, merely for the sake of form, and without the least intention of adapting the expence of the fleet to the supplies asked and obtained. And this has now been practised so long, without controul, that parliaments have had but little or nothing left for them to do, with regard to this great article, but to find out funds to answer navy debts, which, from time to time, they are told have been incurred, by the *fruits* of a navy or victualling board.

But

But the assumed authority of such subordinate officers, in loading the nation with debts without the knowledge of parliament, is not the only point that requires to be regulated; something must be done to introduce economy, the want of which, in the affairs of our marine at present, we have but too much reason to lament. Can it be surprizing, that our navy debt is so amazingly increased, when we reflect that the public bought its stores, its provisions, hired its transports, and made its contracts, at a monstrous disadvantage? Every one in the least acquainted with the *course of the navy*, must own the truth of this most melancholy fact; and, therefore, it will be highly worthy to be enquired into, and to be remedied by a diligent and honest *committee*, to whose care, we trust, the ensuing parliament will refer the state of our navy, which of late years has been so copious a source of incumbrances. Such an enquiry would be of infinite use, in preventing future unnecessary expences, in fitting out our fleets.

Before the miserable condition of our finances can be effectually inquired into, besides appointments of *select*, nay *secret committees* in the house of commons, the public flatters itself, that the wisdom of the legislature will go farther, and erect, by act of parliament, a *commission for taking and stating the public accounts*: the commissioners to be chosen from among the greatest and ablest men of the kingdom, of both houses, or otherwise; to continue for years together (if it should be necessary) to sit where, and at what time they please; assisted by the ablest clerks they can find; and vested with unlimited power over all the public offices; to scrutinize into all the money transactions that have passed of late years; to make reports, from time to time, to parliament, of the progress they may make in cleansing the *Augæan stable*, and to call for parliamentary censures, if necessary. The public debt is a wound that must be probed to the bottom, with an honest view, to save a sinking constitution, and the liberties of this country. And if any delinquents should be found out, though I could wish every thing was done with as little severity as possible, surely it is better that some few of the most culpable should be singled out, as they ought to be, rather than that the nation, by a general bankruptcy, should be thrown into a most calamitous desolation. And may we not reasonably hope that an instance or two, of severe animadversion on domestic mismanagements will, for the future, imprint this important lesson on the mind of every one, whose office makes him accountable to the state, that no connections are strong enough to screen *corruption*, and that *public robbery* is as dangerous as it is criminal?

A List of the Members of the House of Commons elected for the thirteenth Parliament of Great Britain, and summoned to meet for their first session on Tuesday the tenth of May, 1768.

††† The second column of each page contains the names of the late Members not re-chosen for the same places; and where there are blanks in that column, the late Members are re-elected. So that the reader is thus furnished with a complete view both of the last and the present House of Commons.

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Maidſtone.

Hon. Charles Marſham, esq.

Robert Gregory, esq.

Canterbury.

William Lynch, esq.

Richard Milles, esq.

LANCASHIRE.

Right hon. Lord Strange

Lord Archibald Hamilton

Lancaster.

Sir George Warren, K. B.

Thomas Reynolds, Esq.

Prefſon.

Sir Peter Leiceſter, Bart.

Sir Frank Standiſh, Bart.

*Late Members.*Cha. Fitzroy Scudamore,
esq.

Jehniſon Shafto, eſq.

William Lynch, eſq.

Tho. Plumer Byde, eſq.

Jacob Houblon, eſq.

Timothy Caſwell, eſq.

Rt. Hon. Viſ. Newnham
James Weſt, eſq.Rt H. Ld Caryſfort, K. B.
Sir Robert Bernard, Bart.

Edw. Montagu, eſq.

Hon. Robert Fairfax, eſq.

Sir Charles Hardy
Grey Cooper, eſq.Roſe Fuller, eſq.
William Northey, eſq.

Thomas Beſt, eſq.

James Shuttleworth, eſq.

Edmund Starkie, eſq.

*Present Members.**Late Members.**Liverpool.*

Sir William Meredyth, Bart.

Richard Pennant, esq.

Wigan.

George Byng, esq.

Beaumont Hotham, esq.

Clithero.

Asheton Curzon, esq.

Nathaniel Lyfter, esq.

Newton.

Peter Legh, esq.

Anthony J. Keck, esq.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

Sir John Palmer, Bart.

Sir Thomas Cave, Bart.

Leicester.

The Hon. Booth Grey, esq.

Eyre Coote, esq.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

Rt Hon. Lord Brownlow Bertie

Thomas Whichcot, esq.

Stamford.

George Aufrere, esq.

Lieut. General George Howard

Gtantham.

Lord George Sutton

Right Hon. Sir John Cuff, Bart.

Boston.

The Right Hon. Lord Robert Bertie

Charles Amcotts, esq.

Great Grimsby.

Joseph Melkish, esq.

Anthony St. Leger, esq.

Lincoln.

Thomas Scroope, esq.

The Hon. Constantine John Phipps

MIDDLESEX.

John Wilkes, esq.

George Cooke, esq.

Westminster.

The Right Hon. Hugh Earl Percy

The Hon. Edwin Sandys, esq.

London.

The Right Hon. Thomas Harley, esq.

Sir Robert Ladbroke, Knt.

William Beckford, esq.

Barlow Trecothick, esq.

Simon Luttrell, esq.

Sir Fletcher Norton

Randle Wilbraham, esq.

Ant. James Keck, esq.

John Darker, esq.

Geo. Brid. Brudenell, esq.

Rt H. Earl of Catherlough

Hon. George Monson

Coningsby Sibthorpe, esq.

Sir William Beauchamp
Proctor, Bart.

Sir Richard Glynn, Bart.

*Present Members.**Late Members.***MONMOUTHSHIRE.**

Thomas Morgan, jun. esq.

John Hanbury, esq.

Monmouth.

John Stepney, esq.

NORFOLK.

Sir Edward Aftley, Bart.

Thomas De Grey, esq.

King's Lynn.

The Hon. Thomas Walpole, esq.

Sir John Turner, Bart.

Great Yarmouth.

Charles Townshend, esq.

The Hon. Richard Walpole

*Tetford.*Right Hon. Henry Seymour Conway,
esq.

John Drummond, esq.

Castle-Rising.

Thomas Whately, esq.

Jennison Shafto, esq.

Norwich.

Harbord Harbord, esq.

Edward Bacon, esq.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

Sir Edmund Isham, Bart.

Sir William Dolben, Bart.

Peterborough.

Sir Matthew Lamb, Bart.

Matthew Wyldbore, esq.

Northampton.

Sir George Osborne, Bart.

Sir George Bridges Rodney, Bart.

Brackley.

Robert Wood, esq.

William Egerton, esq.

Higham Ferrers.

Frederick Montagu, esq.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Sir Edward Blackett

George Delaval, esq.

Morpeth.

Peter Beckford, esq.

Sir Matthew White Ridley, Bart.

Newcastle on Tyne.

Sir Walter Blackett, Bart.

Matthew Ridley, esq.

Berwick upon Tweed.

Sir John Hussey Delaval, Bart.

Robert Paris Taylor, esq.

Sir Arm. Wodehouse, Bart.

Hon. Horace Walpole, esq.

Hon. Sir Edw. Walpole, k. b.

Hon. Aubrey Beauclerk

Hon. Thomas Howard
Charles Boone, esq.

William Cartwright, esq.

Armistead Parker, esq.

Frederick Montagu, esq.
Lucy Knightly, esq.Right Hon. Lord Hinch-
inbroke

Hon. John Yorke, esq.

Sir Henry Grey, Bart.

Thomas Duncombe, esq.
Rt Hon. Viscount Garlies

Rt Hon. Viscount Lisburne

Present Members.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

John Hewett, esq.

Hon. Thomas Willoughby
East Retford.

John Offley, esq.

Sir Cecil Wray, Bart.

Newark upon Trent.

John Shelley, esq.

John Manners, esq.

Nottingham.

The Hon. William Howe, esq.

John Plumtree, esq.

OXFORDSHIRE.

Lord Charles Spencer

Lord Wenman

Oxford University.

Sir Roger Newdigate

John Page, esq.

Oxford.

George Nares, esq.

Hon. William Harcourt

Woodstock.

Right Hon. Lord Robert Spencer

Hon. William Gordon

Banbury.

Right Hon. Lord North

RUTLANDSHIRE.

Thomas Noel, esq.

George Bridges Brudenell, esq.

SHROPSHIRE.

Charles Baldwin, esq.

Sir John Ashley.

Shrewsbury.

Lord Clive

Noel Hill, esq.

Ludlow.

Edward Herbert, esq.

William Fellows, esq.

Bridgnorth.

Right Hon. Lord Pigot

William Whitmore, esq.

Wenlock.

Sir Henry Bridgman, Bart.

George Forester, esq.

Bishops-Castle.

George Clive, esq.

William Clive, esq.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

Sir Charles Kemys Tynte

Richard Hipelley Cox, esq.

Late Members.

John Shelly, esq.

John White, esq.

Thomas Thornton, esq.

Sir James Dashwood

Sir William Dolben

Hon. Robert Lee

Sir Thomas Stapleton

Right Hon. Vis. Bateman

Hon. Thomas Chambers
Cecil, esq.

Thomas Hill, esq.

Henry Bridgeman, esq.

Hon. John Grey, esq.

Brook Forrester, esq.

Cecil Forrester, esq.

Peregrine Cust, esq.

Sir Tho. Dyke Acland, Bart.

*Present Members.**Taunton.*

Alexander Popham, esq.

Nathaniel Webb, esq.

Ivelchester.

Brownlow Cust, esq.

Peter Legh, esq.

Milborne Port.

Edward Walter, esq.

Tho. Hut. Medlycott, esq.

Wells.

Robert Child, esq.

Clement Tudway, esq.

Bridgewater.

Lord Percival, son to the Earl of Eg-

mont

Benjamin Allen, esq.

Bath.

Sir John Saunders Sebright

John Smith, esq.

Minehead.

Henry Fownes Lutterell, esq.

Charles Whitworth, esq.

Bristol.

Right Hon. Lord Viscount Clare

Matthew Brickdale, esq.

HAMPSHIRE.

Lord Henley

Sir Simeon Stuart, Bart.

Winchester.

George Powlett, esq.

Henry Penton, esq.

Portsmouth.

Sir Edward Hawke

Sir Matthew Featherstonhaugh

Newport. (Isle of Wight.)

Hans Sloane, esq.

John Eames, esq.

Yarmouth (Isle of Wight.)

Jervoise Clarke, esq.

William Strode, esq.

Newtown (Isle of Wight.)

Sir John Barrington, Bart.

Harcourt Powell, esq.

Lymington.

Henry Burrard, esq.

Adam Drummond, esq.

Christ-Church.

Hon. Tho. Robinson, esq.

James Harris, esq.

Late Members.

Earl of Farnham

Lawrence Sullivan, esq.

William Wilson, esq.

Right Hon. Lord Coleraine

Earl of Thomond

Henry Shiffner, esq.

Sir Jarrit Smith, Bart.

Sir Richard Mill

Thomas Dummer, esq.

Wm. Rawlinson Earle, esq.

Jeremiah Dyson, esq.

John Eames, esq.

*Present Members.**Andover.*

Sir John Griffin Griffin
Benjamin Lethicullier, esq.

Whitchurch.

Right Hon. Tho. Townshend, jun.
Henry Wallop, esq.

Peterfield.

William Jolliffe, esq.
Right hon. Welbore Ellis, esq.

Stockbridge.

Richard Worge, esq.
Richard Fuller, esq.

Southampton.

The Rt Hon. Lord Vis. Palmerston
Right Hon. Hans Stanley, esq.

STAFFORDSHIRE.

Right Lord Grey
Sir William Baggot, Bart.

Stafford.

Right Hon. Lord Vis. Chetwynd
Richard Whitworth, esq.

Tamworth.

William De Grey, esq. his Majesty's
Attorney General

Edward Thurlow, esq.

Newcastle-under-Lime.

John Wrottesley, esq.
Alexander Forrister, esq.

Litchfield.

Thomas Anson, esq.
Thomas Gilbert, esq.

SUFFOLK.

Sir Thomas Cha. Bunbury, Bart.
Sir John Rous, Bart.

Ipswich.

Thomas Staunton, esq.
William Wollaston, esq.

Dunwich.

Miles Barne, esq.
Gerrard William Van Neck, esq.

Orford.

Lord Viscount Beauchamp
Edward Colman, esq.

Aldborough.

Zachary Phil. Fonnereau, esq.
Nicholas Linwood, esq.

Sudbury.

Patrick Blake, esq.
Walden Hanmer, esq.

Late Members.

Sir Fr. Blake Delaval, K. B.

George Jennings, esq.

John Jolliffe, esq.
Richard Croftes, esq.

George Prescott, esq.
Nicholas Linwood, esq.

Henry Dawkins, esq.

John Crewe, esq.

Sir Robert Burdett, Bart.

Sir Laurence Dundas
Thomas Gilbert, esq.

Hugo Meynell, esq.

Rowland Holt, esq.

Right Hon. Lord Orwell

Eliab Harvey, esq.

John Offley, esq.
Thomas Worley, esq.

Philip Fonnereau, esq.

Thomas Fonnereau, esq.
John Henniker, esq.

*Present Members.**Late Members.**Eye.*

The Right Hon. Joshua Lord Viscount Allen

The Hon. William Cornwallis, esq.
Bury St. Edmunds.

Hon. Augustus John Hervey
Hon. Col. Charles Fitzroy.

SURRY.

Right Hon. George Onslow
Sir Francis Vincent, Bart.

Southwark.

Sir Joseph Mawbey, Bart.
Henry Thrale, esq.

Gatton.

Hon. Jon. Damer, esq.
Joseph Martin, esq.

Haslemere.

William Burrell, esq.
Thomas Moore Mollineux, esq.

Betchingly.

Sir Kenrick Clayton, Bart.
Robert Clayton, esq.

Ryegate.

Hon. John Yorke, esq.
Charles Cocks, esq.

Guildford.

Sir Fletcher Norton, Knt.
George Onslow, esq.

SUSSEX.

Hon. George Henry Lenox, esq.
Right Hon. Thomas Pelham, esq.

Horsham.

Right Hon. James Grenville, esq.
Robert Pratt, esq.

Bramber.

The right hon. Earl Winterton
Charles Lowndes, esq.

New Shoreham.

Sir Samuel Cornish, Bart.
Peregrine Cust, esq.

Midhurst.

The right hon. Lord Stavordale
Hon. Cha. Ja. Fox, esq.

East Grinstead.

The right hon. Lord Geo. Sackville
John Irwine, esq.

Steyning.

Sir John Filmer, Bart.
Thomas Edwards Freeman, esq.

Richard Phillipson, esq.

Hon. William Hervey, esq.

Thomas Brand, esq.
Edward Harvey, esq.

Phil. Carteret Webb, esq.

Charles Whitworth, esq.

Hon. Charles Yorke, esq.

Sir John Elwill, Bart.

Sir Lionel Pilkington, Bart.

Hon. Geo. Venables Vernon, esq.

Right hon. Earl of Moxborough

Hon. John Burgoyne, esq.
Bamber Gascoyne, esq.

Sir Cha. Farnaby, Bart.

Richard Fuller, esq.

*Present Members.**Arundel.*

Sir George Colebrook, Bart.

Lauchlin Maclean, esq.

Lewes.

The hon. Thomas Hampden, esq.

Colonel Thomas Hay

Chichester.

The hon. William Keppell, esq.

The right hon. Tho. Conolly, esq.

WARWICKSHIRE.

Sir Charles Mordaunt, Bart.

William Throckmorton Bromley, esq.

Warwick.

The right hon. Lord Greville

Henry Archer, esq. (*since dead.*)*Coventry.*

The hon. Andrew Archer

The hon. Henry Seymour Conway

WESTMORELAND.

John Robinson, esq.

Thomas Fenwick, esq.

Appleby.

Philip Honeywood, esq.

Charles Jenkinson, esq.

WORCESTERSHIRE.

The hon. John Ward, esq.

The right hon. Wm Dowdeswell, esq.

Evesham.

John Rushout, esq.

George Durant, esq.

Droitwich.

Hon. Robert Harley, esq.

Thomas Foley, esq.

Bewdley.

Hon. Thomas Lyttelton, esq.

Worcester.

Henry Crabb Boulton, esq.

John Walfsh, esq.

WILTSHIRE.

Edward Popham, esq.

Thomas Goddard, esq.

New Sarum.

Hon. Edward Bouverie

Henry Dawkins, esq.

Devizes.

Charles Garth, esq.

James Sutton, esq.

Late Members.

John Bristowe, esq.

William Plumer, esq.

Lord Edward Bentinck

John Page, esq.

Paul Methuen, esq.

John Upton, jun. esq.

Right hon. Sir John Rush-
out, Bart.

Sir Edw. Winnington, Bart.

Samuel Eyre, esq.

Marlborough.

*Present Members.**Marlborough.*

Hon. Robert Brudenell, esq.

Sir James Long, Bart.

Chippenharn.

Sir Edward Bayntun, Bart.

Sir Thomas Fludyer

Calne.

John Dunning, esq.

Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice, esq.

Malmshury.

Right hon. Earl of Donegall

Thomas Howard, esq.

Cricklade.

Hon. George Damer, esq.

Sir Robert Fletcher, Knt.

Hindon.

John St. Leger Douglas, esq.

William Hufley, esq.

Sarum Old.

Right hon. Wm. Gerrard Hamilton

John Crauford, esq.

Heytesbury.

General A'Court

Charles Fitzroy Scudamore, esq.

Westbury.

William Blackstone, esq.

Peregrine Bertie, esq.

Wotton Bassett.

Hon. Henry St. John

T. Efcourt Creswell, esq.

Luggerball.

Right hon. Lord Garlies

Peniston Lamb, esq.

Wilton.

The hon. Nicholas Herbert, esq.

Henry Herbert, esq.

Downton.

Thomas Duncombe, esq;

Richard Croftes, esq.

Great Bedwin.

Hon. James Brudenel

Hon. Robert Brudenel

Lost Members.

John Calcraft, esq.

Right hon. Earl Tilney

Thomas Conolly, esq.

Thomas Gere, esq.

Arnold Nesbitt, esq.

Edward Morant, esq.

William Blackstone, esq.

Howell Gwynne, esq.

Thomas Pitt, esq.

Pierce A'Court Ashe, esq.

Chauncy Townshend, esq.

Thomas Whately, esq;

John Patterfon, esq.

Hon. Robert Herbert, esq.

James Hayes, esq.

Sir Tho. Pym Hales, Bart.

William Burke, esq.

Sir Thomas Fludyer

CINQUE PORTS.

Hastings.

William Ashburnham, esq.

Samuel Martin, esq.

Sandwich.

The right hon. Lord Vis. Copyngham

Philip Stephens, esq.

Hon. James Brudenell, esq.

George Hay, L. L. D.

*Peers Members.**Dover.*

Right hon. Viscount Villiers
The hon. Sir Joseph Yorke, k. b.

Ramsey, New.

Sir Edward Deering, bart.
Richard Jackson, esq.

Hythe.

William Evelyn, esq.
John Sawbridge, esq.

Rye.

John Norris, esq.
Rose Fuller, esq.

Winchelsea.

The right hon. Earl of Thomond
Thomas Orby Hunter, esq.

Seaford.

The right hon. William Lord Viscount Gage
George Medley, esq.

Lord Members.

John Bindley, esq.

Thomas Knight, jun.

Rt hon. Lord Geo. Sackville
William Amherst, esq.

John Bentinck, esq.

Rt hon. Sir Tho. Sewell,
knt.

Sir James Peachy, bart.

W A L E S.

ANGLESEY.

Owen Meyrick, esq.

Beaumaris.

Sir Hugh Williams, bart.

BRECONSHIRE.

Thomas Morgan, esq.

Brecon.

Charles Morgan, esq.

CARDIGANSHIRE.

Lord Viscount Lisburne

Cardigan.

Sir Herbert Lloyd, bart.

CARMARTHENSHIRE.

George Rice, esq.

Carmarthen.

Griffith Philips, esq.

CARNARVONSHIRE.

Thomas Wynne, esq.

Carnarvon.

Sir John Wynne, bart.

DENBIGHSHIRE

Sir Lynch Salusbury Cotton, bart.

Denbigh.

Richard Myddleton, esq.

FLINTSHIRE.

Sir Roger Mostyn, bart.

Richard Price, esq.

John Pugh Pryse, esq.

Lord Verney

*Present Members.**Late Members.**Flint.*

Sir John Glynn, bart.

GLAMORGANSHIRE.

Hon. George Venables Vernon, esq.

Cardiff.

Herbert Mackworth, esq.

MERIONETHSHIRE.

John Pugh Pryce, esq.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

Edward Kynaston, esq.

Montgomery.

Richard Clive, esq.

PEMBROKESHIRE.

Sir Richard Philipps, bart.

Pembroke.

Sir William Owen, bart.

Haverford, West.

William Edwards, esq.

RADNORSHIRE.

Chafe Price, esq.

New Radnor.

John Lewis, esq.

Richard Turberville, esq.

William Vaughan, esq.

Marquis of Carnarvan

Edward Lewis, esq.

SCOTLAND.

ABERDEENSHIRE.

Alexander Garden, esq.

AIRSHIRE.

David Kennedy, esq.

ARGYLLSHIRE.

Thomas Dundas, esq.

BANFFSHIRE.

Right hon. Earl of Fife

BERWICKSHIRE.

James Pringle, esq. jun.

BUTE and CAITHNESS.

CLACKMANNAN and KINROSS.

Robert Adams, esq.

DUMBARTONSHIRE.

Archibald Edmonstone, esq.

DUMFRIESSHIRE.

Archibald Douglas, esq.

EDINBURGHSHIRE.

Sir Alexander Gilmour, bart.

ELGINSHIRE.

James Grant, esq.

FIFESHIRE.

Colonel John Scott

Lord Adam Gordon

Hon. A. Montgomery, esq.

Robert Campbell, esq.

James Abercrombie, esq.

Hon. James Wemyss

*Present Members.***FORFARSHIRE.**

Earl Panmure

HADDINGTONSHIRE.

Sir George Suttie, bart.

INVERNESSHIRE.

Simon Frazer, esq.

KINCARDINESHIRE.

Col. Robert Hepburn Rickart

KIRKUDBRIGHT.

John Ross Mackye, esq.

LANERKSHIRE.

John Ross, Esq.

LINLITHGOWSHIRE.

John Hope esq.

NAIRN and CROMARTIE.

Sir John Gordon, Bart.

ORKNEY, &c.

Thomas Dundas, esq.

PEEBLESHIRE.

Right hon. James Montgomery, esq.

PERTHSHIRE.

David Græme, esq.

RENFREWSHIRE.

William McDowall, esq.

ROSS-SHIRE.

Rt hon. James Stuart Mackenzie esq.

ROXBURGHSHIRE.

Sir Gilbert Eliot, bart.

SELKIRKSHIRE.

John Pringle, esq.

STERLINGSHIRE.

Thomas Dundas, esq.

SUTHERLANDSHIRE.

Hon. James Wemys

WIGTOWNSHIRE.

James Murray, esq.

ROYAL BOROUGHS.*Elgin, Cullen, Inverurie, Banff, and
Kintore.*

Sir Andrew Mitchel, K. B.

*Air, Irvine, Rothesay, Inverury, and
Campbeltown.*

Hon. James Stewart

*Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick,
Lauder and Jedburgh.*

Lieut. Colonel Warrander

Capt. John Maitland

Last Members.

Andrew Fletcher, esq.

Sir Alex. Ramsay, bart.

Daniel Campbell, esq.

Hon. Charles Hope Weir

Pryse Campbell, esq.

Sir James Douglas, bart.

Adam Hay, esq.

Patrick Craufurd, esq.

James Campbell, esq.

Colonel Alex. Mackay

Alex. Wedderburn, esq.

Sir Hugh Dalrymple, bart.

*Present Members.**Late Members:*

*Glasgow, Renfrew, Rutherglen, and
Dumbarton.*

*Lord Frederick Campbell
Dumfries, Kirkcubright, Annan, Loch-
maben and Sanquhar.*

*William Douglas, esq.
Edinburgh City.*

*Sir Lawrence Dundas, bart.
Brantistland, Kinghorn, Dysart, and
Kirkcaldy.*

*James Townshend Oswald, esq.
Anstruther Easter, Anstruther Wester,
Kilrennie, Craill, and Pittenweem.*

*Sir John Anstruther, bart.
Perth, Dundee, St. Andrews, Coupar,
and Forfar.*

*William Pulteny, esq.
Aberdeen, Montrose, Brechin, Aber-
brothick, and Inverbervie.*

*The hon. Thomas Lyon, esq.
Sterling, Innerkeithen, Dumfermline,
Queensferry, and Culross.*

*James Masterton, esq.
Forres, Fortrose, Inverness, and Nairn.*

*Lieut. Colonel Hector Monro
Tain, Dingwall, Dornock, Wick, and
Kirkwall.*

*Hon. Alexander Mackay
Lanark, Linlithgow, Selkirk, and
Peebles.*

*John Ross, esq.
Wigtown, Whitehorn, New Galloway,
and Stranraer.*

Augustus Selwyn, esq.

Rt hon. James Montgomery

James Coutts, esq.

James Oswald, esq.

George Dempster, esq.

Sir John Lindesey, knt.

Francis Holbourne, esq.

Sir Alexander Grant, bart.

John Scott, esq.

John Hamilton, esq.

** * * The above is as correct a List as the Shortness of Time
would allow. If, however, there should prove to be any Errors in
it, the Editor would be much obliged to any Gentleman for better
Information.*

AN ALPHABETICAL

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF THE
MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
With the PLACES they represent.

A			
A BDY, Sir A. T.	<i>Knaresboro'</i>	Beauclerk, Lord G.	<i>Windsor</i>
A Court, Gen.	<i>Heytesbury</i>	Beauclerk, Hon. A.	<i>Aldborough</i>
Adam, Robert	<i>Kinrosshire</i>	Beauchamp, Lord Vis.	<i>Orford</i>
Aislabie, W.	<i>Rippon</i>	Beckford, W.	<i>London</i>
Allanson, C.	<i>ditto</i>	Beckford, P.	<i>Morpeth</i>
Allen, Benjamin	<i>Bridgewater</i>	Bentinck, Lord Edwd.	<i>Carlisle</i>
Allen, Lord	<i>Eye</i>	Bertie, Rt. Hon. Ld. R.	<i>Boston</i>
Amcotts, C.	<i>Boston</i>	Bertie, Rt. Hon. Ld. B.	<i>Lincolnshire</i>
Amherst, W.	<i>Launceston</i>	Bertie, Pere.	<i>Westbury</i>
Anderfon, C.	<i>Beverley</i>	Bethell, H.	<i>Beverley</i>
Anfon, Tho.	<i>Litchfield</i>	Blackstone, W.	<i>Westbury</i>
Anstruther, Sir J.	<i>Anstruther, Sc.</i>	Blackett, Sir W.	<i>Newcastle on Tyne</i>
Archer, Henry	<i>Warwick</i>	Blackett, Sir E.	<i>Northumberland</i>
Archer, Hon. Andrew	<i>Coventry</i>	Blake, P.	<i>Sudbury</i>
Ashburnham, W.	<i>Hastings</i>	Boone, C.	<i>Ashburton</i>
Astley, Sir E.	<i>Norfolk</i>	Boote, R. W.	<i>Chester</i>
Astley, Sir John	<i>Shropshire</i>	Bond, John	<i>Corfe Castle</i>
Aubrey, J.	<i>Wallingford</i>	Boscawen, Hon. G.	<i>Truro</i>
Aufrere, G.	<i>Stamford</i>	Boscawen, E. H.	<i>ditto</i>
B		Boscawen, G. Jun.	<i>St. Maries</i>
Bacon, Anthony	<i>Aylesbury</i>	Boulton, Hen. Crab	<i>Worcester</i>
Bacon, E.	<i>Norwich</i>	Bouverie, Hon. Edw.	<i>Salisbury</i>
Baggot, Sir W.	<i>Staffordshire</i>	Bradshaw, T.	<i>Salisbury</i>
Baker, W.	<i>Plympton</i>	Brand, T.	<i>Oakhampton</i>
Baldwin, C.	<i>Shropshire</i>	Brett, Charles	<i>Leisewitbiel</i>
Bampfylde, Sir R. W.	<i>Devonshire</i>	Brett, Sir P.	<i>Queensborough</i>
Barrington, Lord	<i>Plymouth</i>	Brickdale, M.	<i>Bristol</i>
Barrington, Sir J.	<i>Newtown</i>	Bridgman, Sir H.	<i>Wenlock</i>
	<i>(Isle of Wight)</i>	Bridges, Sir Brook	<i>Kent</i>
Barre, Col. Isaac	<i>Chipping Wycombe</i>	Bromley, W. T.	<i>Warwickshire</i>
Barrow, C.	<i>Gloucester</i>	Brudenell, G. B.	<i>Rutlandshire</i>
Barnes, M.	<i>Dunwich</i>	Brudenell, Hon. Ro.	<i>Marlborough</i>
Basset, F.	<i>Penryn</i>	Ditto,	<i>Bedwin</i>
Bateman, Lord Vis.	<i>Leominster</i>	Brudenell, Hon. James	<i>Bedwin</i>
Bayntun, Sir Edw.	<i>Chippingham</i>	Bull, R.	<i>Newport, Cornwall</i>
		Buller, John	<i>East-Loe</i>
			<i>Buller</i>

Buller J.	<i>Exeter City</i>	Cocks, C.	<i>Ryegate</i>
Bullock, J.	<i>Malden</i>	Codrington, Sir W.	<i>Teawksbury</i>
Bunbury, Sir T. C.	<i>Suffolk</i>	Colman, E.	<i>Orford</i>
Burrard, H.	<i>Lymington</i>	Colebrook, Sir George	<i>Arundel</i>
Burrell, W.	<i>Haslemere</i>	Conolly, Rt Hon. Tho.	<i>Chichester</i>
Burrell, P.	<i>Totnes</i>	Conyngham, Ld. Vif.	<i>Sandwich</i>
Burgersh, Rt. Hon. Ld.	<i>Lyme Regis</i>	Conway, Rt. Hon. E. S.	<i>Thetford</i>
Burke, Edmund	<i>Wandover</i>	Cornish, Sir Sam.	<i>New Shoreham</i>
Burton, R.	<i>Wareham</i>	Cornwallis, Hon. W.	<i>Eye</i>
Byng, G.	<i>Wigan</i>	Cornwall, C. W.	<i>Grampound</i>
C			
Cadogan, Hon. C. S.	<i>Cambridge Town</i>	Cotton, Sir J.	<i>Cambridgeshire</i>
Calcraft, Thomas	<i>Poole</i>	Cotton, Sir L. S.	<i>Denbighshire</i>
Calcraft, John	<i>Rochester</i>	Coventry, Thomas	<i>Bridport</i>
Calvert, N.	<i>Teawksbury</i>	Cowper, W.	<i>Hertford</i>
Calvert, John	<i>Hertford</i>	Cox, R. H.	<i>Somerſetſhire</i>
Campbell, Ld. Fred.	<i>Glasgow,</i>	Craufurd, John	<i>Old Sarum</i>
	<i>Renfrew, &c.</i>	Cravan, T.	<i>Berkshire</i>
Campbell, Robert	<i>Argyleſhire</i>	Creswell, T. E.	<i>Wotton B. ſt</i>
Campbell, Pryſe.	<i>Nairn</i>	Creswell, E.	<i>Cirenceſter</i>
Carnac, John	<i>Leominſter</i>	Crewe, J.	<i>Cheſhire</i>
Cavendiſh, Lord John.	<i>Tork</i>	Croſtes, Rich.	<i>Downton</i>
Cavendiſh, Ld. Geo.	<i>Derbyſhire</i>	Croſby, B.	<i>Honiton</i>
Cavendiſh, Ld. Fred.	<i>Derby Town</i>	Curwen, Henry	<i>Cumberland</i>
Cavendiſh Henry	<i>Leſtwithiel</i>	Curzon, A.	<i>Glethero</i>
Cave, Sir Thomas	<i>Leiceſterſhire</i>	Cuſt, Rt. Hon. Sir J.	<i>Grantſham</i>
Chetwynd, Rt. Hon. Ld. Vif.		Cuſt, Per.	<i>New Shoreham</i>
	<i>Stafford Town</i>	Cuſt, B.	<i>Ilweſcheſter</i>
Child, R.	<i>Wells</i>	D	
Cholmley, N.	<i>Boroughbridge</i>	Damer, Hon. John	<i>Gatton</i>
Clanbraſſil, Earl of	<i>Heſtſone</i>	Damer, Hon. George	<i>Cricklade</i>
Clare, Rt. Hon. Ld. Vif.	<i>Briſtol</i>	Damer, J.	<i>Dorcheſter</i>
Clarke, Jarvoife	<i>Yarmouth (Iſle</i>	Darling, Sir R.	<i>Wandover</i>
	<i>of Wight</i>	Davers, Sir C.	<i>Weymouth and</i>
Clarke, G. B.	<i>Derbyſhire</i>		<i>Melcombe-Regis</i>
Clayton, Sir H.	<i>Bletchingly</i>	Dawkins, Henry	<i>Salisbury</i>
Clayton, R.	<i>ditto</i>	Deering, Sir Edward	<i>Romney</i>
Clayton, W.	<i>Great Marlow</i>	De Grey, W. (Att. Gen.)	<i>Tamworth</i>
Clavering, Sir T.	<i>Durham County</i>	De Grey, Wm.	<i>Newport, Cornwall</i>
Cleveland, John	<i>Barnſaple</i>	De Grey, T.	<i>Norfolk</i>
Clive, Lord	<i>Shrewſbury</i>	Delaval, G.	<i>Northumberland</i>
Clive, William	<i>Biſhopſcaſtle</i>	Delaval, Sir J. H.	<i>Berwick upon Tweed</i>
Clive, George	<i>ditto</i>	Dickinson, W.	<i>Great Marlow</i>
Clive, Richard	<i>Montgomery Town</i>	Dodd, John	<i>Reading</i>
Cooke, G.	<i>Middleſex</i>	Dolben, Sir W.	<i>Northamptonſhire</i>
Cooper, G.	<i>Grampound</i>	Donegall, Earl of	<i>Marbury</i>
Coote, E.	<i>Leiceſter</i>	Douglas, J. H.	<i>Leicester</i>
		Douglas, Arch.	<i>Douglas</i>

Douglas, Wm. <i>Dumfries, Kirkubright, &c.</i>	Fitzmaurice, Hon. Tho. <i>Calne</i>
Downe, Lord Vis. <i>Malton</i>	Fitzroy, Hon. Col. C. <i>Bury St. Edmunds</i>
Dowdeswell, Right Hon. W. <i>Worcestershire</i>	Fletcher, Sir Robert, <i>Cricklade</i>
Drake W. Senior <i>Agmondesham</i>	Fludyer, Sir Tho. <i>Chippensham</i>
Drake, W. Junior <i>Ditto</i>	Foley, T. Senior <i>Herefordshire</i>
Drake, Sir F. H. <i>Beeralston</i>	Foley, T. Junior <i>Ditto</i>
Drummond, A. <i>St. Ives</i>	Ditto, <i>Droitwich</i>
Drummond, John <i>Thetford</i>	Fonnereau, Z. P. <i>Aldborough</i>
Drummond, A. <i>Lymington</i>	Forester, G. <i>Wenlock</i>
Duncombe, Thomas <i>Downton</i>	Forrister, Alex. <i>Newcastle under Line</i>
Dundas, Thomas <i>Orkney, &c.</i>	Fox, Hon. Cha. Ja. <i>Midhurst</i>
Dundas, Thomas <i>Sterlingshire</i>	Frankland, Sir T. <i>Tisbury</i>
Dundas, Sir L. <i>Edinburghshire</i>	Frankland, W. <i>Ditto</i>
Ditto, <i>Richmond</i>	Frazer, Simon <i>Invernesshire</i>
Dönke, John <i>Tiverton</i>	Frederick, Sir C. <i>Queensborough</i>
Dünning, John <i>Calne</i>	Freeman, S. <i>Bridport</i>
Durant, George <i>Evesham</i>	Freeman, Tho. Edw. <i>Steyning</i>
Durrant, T. <i>St. Ives</i>	Fuller, Rose <i>Rye</i>
Dürand, John <i>Aylebury</i>	Fuller, Richard <i>Stockbridge</i>
Dyson, J. <i>Weymouth and Melcombe-Regis</i>	G
E	Gage, Lord <i>Seaford</i>
Eames, John <i>Newport (Isle of Wight)</i>	Galway, Lord Vis. <i>Pontefract</i>
Edmondstone, Arch. <i>Dumbar-tonshire</i>	Garden, Alex. <i>Aberdeenshire</i>
Edwards, Wm. <i>Haverfordwest</i>	Garlies, Lord <i>Laggardsball</i>
Egerton, W. <i>Brackley</i>	Garth, Charles <i>Devizes</i>
Egerton, S. <i>Cheshire</i>	Gilbert, Thomas <i>Litchfield</i>
Eliot, Sir Gilbert <i>Roxburghshire</i>	Gilmour, Sir Alex. <i>Edinburghshire</i>
Eliot, E. <i>Liskard</i>	Glynne, Sir John <i>Flint</i>
Eliot, E. <i>St. Germain's</i>	Goddard, Thomas <i>Wiltshire</i>
Ellis, W. Right Hon. <i>Petersfield</i>	Gordon, Sir John <i>Gromartie, &c.</i>
Evelyn, W. <i>Hythe</i>	Gordon, W. <i>Rechefer</i>
Evelyn, W. <i>Helfstone</i>	Gordon, Hon. W. <i>Woodstock</i>
Ewer, W. <i>Dorchester</i>	Granby, M. <i>Cambridgeshire</i>
F	Grant, James <i>Elginshire</i>
Fane, H. <i>Lyme Regis</i>	Graves, W. <i>West-Loos</i>
Featherstonehaugh, Sir Matt. <i>Potsmouth</i>	Gray, C. <i>Calkester</i>
Fellows, William <i>Ludlow</i>	Gregory, R. <i>Maidstone</i>
Fenwick, Thomas <i>Westmoreland</i>	Grenville, Right Hon. George <i>Buckingham Town</i>
Fife, Earl of <i>Bamffshire</i>	Grenville, Hon. Henry <i>Ditto</i>
Filmer, Sir John <i>Steyning</i>	Grenville, Rt. Hon. Jas. <i>Horsham</i>
Finch, S. <i>Malton</i>	Greville, Lord <i>Warwick</i>
Fitzherbert, W. <i>Derby Town</i>	Grey, Rt. Hon. Ld. <i>Staffordshire</i>
	Grey, Hon. J. <i>Tregony</i>
	Grey, H. B. <i>Leicester</i>
	Griffin, Sir John G. <i>Andover</i>
	Gröf

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Grosvenor, T.	<i>Chester</i>	Huffey, R.	<i>East-Loos</i>
Groves, W. C.	<i>Shaftesbury</i>	Huffey, William	<i>Hindon</i>
H		I	
Halfey, J.	<i>Hertfordshire</i>	Jackson, Richard	<i>Romney</i>
Hamilton, Lord A.	<i>Lancashire</i>	Jenkinson, John	<i>Co. fencafile</i>
Hamilton, Right Hon. W. G.	<i>Old Sarum</i>	Jenkinson, Charles	<i>Cockermouth</i>
Hampden, Hon. Tho.	<i>Lewes</i>	Ditto,	<i>Appleby</i>
Hanbury, John	<i>Monmouthshire</i>	Jennings, P.	<i>Totness</i>
Hanmer, W.	<i>Sudbury</i>	Jenyns, S.	<i>Cambridge Town</i>
Harbord, H.	<i>Norwich</i>	Jolliffe, W.	<i>Petersfield</i>
Harcourt, Col.	<i>Oxford</i>	Jones, R.	<i>Humington</i>
Harcourt, Hon. W.	<i>Oxford City</i>	Irwine, John	<i>East Gristled</i>
Harley, Rt. Hon. T.	<i>London</i>	Isham, Sir E.	<i>Northamptonshire</i>
Harley, Hon. R.	<i>Droitwich</i>	K	
Harris, James	<i>Christ Church</i>	Kennedy, David	<i>Airshire</i>
Harvey, E.	<i>Harwich</i>	Keppel, Hon. A.	<i>Windsor</i>
Hawke, Sir E.	<i>Portsmouth</i>	Keppel, Hon. W.	<i>Chichester</i>
Hawke, M. B.	<i>Salisbury</i>	Keck, A. J.	<i>Newton</i>
Hay, Thomas	<i>Lewes</i>	Kynaston, Edw.	<i>Montgomeryshire</i>
Henley, Lord	<i>Hampshire</i>	L	
Herbert, Hon. Nich.	<i>Wilton</i>	Ladbroke, Sir R.	<i>London</i>
Herbert, Henry	<i>Ditto</i>	Lamb, Sir M.	<i>Peterborough</i>
Herbert, E.	<i>Ludlow</i>	Lamb, Pen.	<i>Luggershall</i>
Hervey, Hon. A. John	<i>Bury</i>	Lambton, M. Gen. John	<i>Dur-</i>
	<i>St. Edmunds</i>		<i>ham City</i>
Hewett, J.	<i>Nottinghamshire</i>	Laroche, James	<i>Bodmin</i>
Hewett, John	<i>Ditto</i>	Lascelles, E.	<i>Yorkshire</i>
Heywood, J. M.	<i>Forney</i>	Lascelles, D.	<i>Northallerton</i>
Hill, Noel	<i>Shrewsbury</i>	Lascelles, E.	<i>Ditto</i>
Hinchinbroke, Lord	<i>Hunting-</i>	Legh, P.	<i>Newton</i>
	<i>donshire</i>	Legh, P.	<i>Ipelchefer</i>
Hobart, Hon. G.	<i>Beeralston</i>	Leicester, Sir P.	<i>Preston</i>
Holburne, F.	<i>Plymouth</i>	Lenox, Hon. G. H.	<i>Sussex</i>
Honeywood, Philip	<i>Appleby</i>	Lethieullier, B.	<i>Andover</i>
Hope, John	<i>Lincolnshire</i>	Lewis, John	<i>New Radnor</i>
Hopkins, R.	<i>Clifton-Dartmouth-</i>	Linwood, N.	<i>Aldborough</i>
	<i>Hardness</i>	Lisburne, Lord	<i>Cardiganshire</i>
Hotham, B.	<i>Wigan</i>	Lloyd, Sir Herbert	<i>Cardigan</i>
Howard, Lt. Gen. G.	<i>Stamford</i>		<i>Town</i>
Howard, Tho.	<i>Malmesbury</i>	Long, Sir James	<i>Marlborough</i>
Howe, Hon. W.	<i>Nottingham Town</i>	Lowndes, Rich.	<i>Buckinghamshire</i>
Howe, Lord	<i>Vis. Clifton-</i>	Lowndes, C.	<i>Bramber</i>
	<i>Dartmouth-Hardness</i>	Lowther, Sir James	<i>Cumberland</i>
Hunt, George	<i>Bodmin</i>	Ludlow, Right Hon. Earl	<i>Huntingdonshire</i>
Hunter, Tho. Orby	<i>Winchelsea</i>	Luther, John	<i>Essex</i>
Huske, John	<i>Malden</i>		<i>Lutterell,</i>

Lutterell, H. L.	<i>Bosfiney</i>	Mordaunt, Sir Cha.	<i>Warwickshire</i>
Lutterell, H. F.	<i>Minehead</i>	Morgan, Tho.	<i>Breconshire</i>
Lutterell, S.	<i>Wobly</i>	Morgan Cha.	<i>Brecon Town</i>
Lynch, W.	<i>Canterbury</i>	Moltyn, Sir Roger	<i>Flintshire</i>
Lyon, Hon. Tho.	<i>Aberdeen, Montrose, &c.</i>	Murray, Jas.	<i>Wigtownshire</i>
Lyfter, N.	<i>Clithero</i>	Musgrave, G.	<i>Carlisle</i>
Lytelton, Hon. Thos.	<i>Bewdley</i>	Myddleton Richard,	<i>Denbigh Town</i>
M			
Macartney, Sir Geo.	<i>Cockermouth</i>	Nares, George	<i>Oxford City</i>
Mackworth, Herbert	<i>Cardiff</i>	Neck, G. W. Van	<i>Dunwich</i>
Mackay, Hon. Alex.	<i>Fain, Dingwall, &c.</i>	Neugent, C.	<i>St. Marwees</i>
Mackenize, Rt. Hon. Ja. Stewart	<i>Rosshire</i>	Neville, N.	<i>Tavistock</i>
Mackye, John Rofs	<i>Kirkubright</i>	Newdigate, Sir Roger	<i>Oxford University</i>
Macleane, Lauchlin	<i>Arundel</i>	Noel, T.	<i>Rutlandshire</i>
Maitland, Capt. Haddington, &c.		Norris, John	<i>Rye</i>
Manners Jn.	<i>Newark upon Trent</i>	North, Lord	<i>Banbury</i>
Manners, G.	<i>Scarborough</i>	Norton, Sir F.	<i>Guildford</i>
Manners, Ld. R.	<i>Kingston upon Hull</i>	O	
Marshall Hon. C.	<i>Maidstone</i>	Offley, John	<i>East Retford</i>
Martin Jos.	<i>Gatton</i>	Ongley, R. H.	<i>Bedfordshire</i>
Martin, Sam.	<i>Hastings</i>	Onslow, Rt. Hon. G.	<i>Surry</i>
Masterton, Jas.	<i>Sterling &c.</i>	Onslow, G.	<i>Guildford</i>
M'Dowall, Wm.	<i>Renfrewshire</i>	Osborn, Sir G.	<i>Northampton</i>
Mauger, Joshua	<i>Poole</i>	Osbaldeston, F. W.	<i>Scarborough</i>
Mawbey, Sir Jos.	<i>Southwark</i>	Ossery, Earl	<i>Bedfordshire</i>
Maynard, Sir Wm.	<i>Essex</i>	Oswald, Ja. Townhead	<i>Brunt-island, &c.</i>
Medley, George	<i>Seaford</i>	Ourry, P. H.	<i>Plympton</i>
Medlycott, Tho. Hut.	<i>Milborne Port</i>	Owen, Sir Wm.	<i>Pembroke Town</i>
P			
Mellish, Jos.	<i>Great Grimsby</i>	Page, John	<i>Oxford University</i>
Meredith, Sir Wm.	<i>Liverpool</i>	Palke, R.	<i>Wareham</i>
Merick, Owen	<i>Anglesey</i>	Parker, John	<i>Devonshire</i>
Milles, R.	<i>Canterbury</i>	Palmer, Sir Jn.	<i>Leicestershire</i>
Mitchel, Sir And.	<i>Ranff, Elgin, &c.</i>	Palmerston, Rt. Hon. Ld. Vif.	<i>Southampton</i>
Molesworth, Sir. J.	<i>Cornwall</i>	Padmure, Earl	<i>Forfarshire</i>
Mollineux, T. M.	<i>Hastemere</i>	Payne R.	<i>Shaftesbury</i>
Montagu, E.	<i>Higham Ferrers</i>	Pelham, Rt. Hon. T.	<i>Suffex</i>
Monro, Hect. Forres,	<i>Fortrose, &c.</i>	Pennant, R.	<i>Liverpool</i>
Montgomery, Rt. Hon. James	<i>Peebleshire</i>	Penton, Hen.	<i>Winchester</i>
Morton, John	<i>Abingdon</i>	Percival, Ld.	<i>Bridgewater</i>
Morice Rt. Hon. H.	<i>Launceston</i>	Percy, Rt. Hon. H. E.	<i>Westminster</i>
Morgan, T. Jun.	<i>Monmouthshire</i>	Phillipps, C.	<i>Camelford</i>
		Phipps, Hon. C. Jn.	<i>Lincoln</i>
		Philips, Griffith	<i>Carmarthen Town</i>
			<i>Philips</i>

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Phillips, Sir Richard	Pembrokeshire	Salt, Sam.	St. Germain's
Pigot, Robert	Wallingford	Saville, Sir Geo.	Yorkshire
Pigot, H.	Penryn	Saunders, Sir C.	Hydon
Pigot, Rt. Hon. Ld.	Bridgnorth	Sandys, H. E.	Westminster
Pitt, T.	Oakhampton	Sawbridge, John	Hythe
Pitt, G.	Dorsetshire	Scawen, J.	St. Michael
Plumer, Wm.	Hertfordshire	Scot, Col. Jn.	Fifehire
Plumtree, Jn.	Nottingham Town	Stroope, T.	Lincoln
Popham, Ac.	Taunton	Scudamore, Jn.	Hereford
Popham, Edw.	Wiltshire	Scudamore, Ch. Fitzroy	Herefordshire
Powell, H.	Newtown (Isle of Wight)	Sebright, Sir Jn.	Bath
Powlett, Geo.	Winchester	Selwyn, G. A.	Gloucester
Pownall, T.	Tregony	Selwyn, Aug.	Wigtown, Whitehorn, &c.
Pratt, R.	Horsbarn	Seymour, H.	Huntingdon
Price, Chas.	Radnorshire	Shatto, Jn.	Castle Rising
Pringle, Jas.	Berwickshire	Sharpe, W.	Callington
Pringle, John	Selkirkshire	Shelley, Jn.	Newark upon Trent
Pryce, John Pugh	Merionethshire	Sloane, Haws	Newport (Isle of Wight)
Pulceny, Wm.	Perth, Dundee, &c.		
R		Smythe, Jn.	Bath
Radcliff, John	St. Albans	Southwell, E.	Gloucestershire
Rashleigh, P.	Fowey	Spencer, Lord C.	Oxfordshire
Rebow, J. M.	Colchester	Spencer, Rt. Hn. Ld. R.	Woodstock
Reynolds, T.	Lancaster	Stanley, H. Rt. Hon.	Southampton
Rice, George	Carmarthenshire	Staunton, T.	Ipswich
Rickart, Col. Robt. Hepburn	Kincardineshire	Stavordale, Ld.	Midhurst
Ridley, Sir M.	Morpeth	Standish, Sir F.	Preson
Ridley, Mr.	Newcastle on Tyne	Stepney, Jn.	Monmouth
Rigby, Rt. Hon. R.	Tarvisstock	Stephens, Philip	Sandwich
Roberts, John	Harwich	Stephenson, J.	St. Michael
Robinson, Hon. T.	Christ Church	Stewart, Ld. M.	Bossiney
Robinson, John	Westmoreland	Stewart, Hon. Js.	Air, Irvine, &c.
Rodney, Sir G. B.	Northampton	Strange, Rt. Hon. Ld.	Lancashire
Rolle, D.	Barnstaple	Strode, W.	Yarmouth (Isle of Wight)
Ross, John	Lanarkshire	Stuart, Sir Simeon	Hampshire
Ross, Jn.	Lanark, Linlithgow, &c.	Stuart, H.	Doyleshire
Rous, Sir J.	Suffolk	Sullivan, L.	Asburton
Rushout, John	Exeter	Sutton, Ld. Geo.	Grantam
Ryder, N.	Tiverton	Sutton, R.	St. Albans
S		Sutton, Jas.	Devizes
Sackville, Ld. G.	East Grinstead	Suttie, Sir Geo.	Haddingtonshire
Sackville, Jn. F.	Kent	Symons, R.	Hereford
Salt, S.	Lisford	T	
St. Aubyn, Sir J.	Corwall	Taylor, R. P.	Berwick upon Tweed
St. Leger, A.	Great Grimsby	Tempest, J. jun.	Durham City
St. John Hon. Hen.	Wootton Bassett	Thomond, Earl of	Wincelston
		Thompson,	

Thompson, B.	Heydon	Ward, Hon. John	Worcestershire
Thrale H.	Southwark	Warrender, Lieut. Col.	Had-
Thurlow, E.	Tamworth		dington, Dunbar, &c.
Thynne, Hon. Hen. Fred.	Woolly	Webb, N.	Taunton
Townshend, Rt. Hon. T. jun.	Whitchurch	Wedderburn, A.	Richmond
Townshend, C.	Great Yarmouth	Weddell, W.	Kingston
Townshend, Hon. Tho.	Cam- bridge University	Wemys, Hon. Jas.	Shropshire
Townshend, J.	West-Lose	Wenman, Lord	Oxfordshire
Tracy, Tho.	Gloucestershire	West, J. Senior	Boroughbridge
Trecothick B.	London	Whately, T.	Castle Rising
Tucker, J.	Weymouth & Mel- combe-Regis	Whitbread, S.	Bedford Town
Tudway, C.	Wells	Whitchcot, T.	Lincolnshire
Turner, Sir J.	King's Lynn	Whitshed, James	Cirencester
Turner, C.	York	Whitworth, C.	Minehead
Tynte, Sir C. H.	Somersetshire	Whitworth, R.	Stafford Town
V		Whitmore, Wm.	Bridgnorth
Vane, Hon. F.	Durham County	Wilkes, John	Middlesex
Vanfittart, A.	Berkshire	Wilson, W.	Camelford
Vanfittart, H.	Reading	Wilkison, A.	Aldborough
Vernon, Geo. Venables	Gla-	Willoughby, Hon. T.	Notting- hamshire
Vernon, R.	Bedford Town	Williams, Hugh	Beaumaris
	morganshire	Winterton, Right Hon.	Earl Dramber
Verney, Earl of	Buckinghamshire	Wood, R.	Brackley
Villiers, Lord	Dover	Wollaston, W.	Ipswich
Vincent, Sir F.	Surry	Worge, R.	Stockbridge
W		Worley, T.	Callington
Waller, R.	Chipping Wycombe	Wray, Sir Cecil	East Retford
Walter, J.	Exeter City	Wrottesley, John	Newcastle- under-line
Waltham, Right Hon. Lord	Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.	Wyldbore, M.	Peterborough
Walsingham, Honourable R.B.	Knareborough	Wynn, Sir R.	Pontefract
Walpole, Hon. T.	King's Lynn	Wynne, Thos.	Carnarvonshire
Walpole, Rt. Hon. R.	Great Yarmouth	Wynne, Sir John	Carnarvon Town
Walter, E.	Milborne Port	Y	
Wallop, H.	Whitchurch	Yonge, Sir G.	Honiton
Walfsh, John	Worcester	Yorke, Hon. C.	Cambridge
Warren, Sir G.	Lancaster		University
		Yorke, Hon. John	Ryegate
		Yorke, Sir Joseph	Dover

MEMBERS

MEMBERS returned for Two Places.

Charles Jenkinson, Esq; *Cockermouth and Appleby*
 Samuel Salt, Esq; *Lisford and St. Germans*
 Edward Eliot, Esq; *Ditto Ditto*
 A. Drummond, Esq; *St. Ives and Lymington*
 Hon. Robert Brudenell, *Marlborough and Bedwin*
 William De Grey, *Tamworth and Newport*
 Geo. Aug. Selwyn, Esq; *Gloucester and Wigtown, &c.*
 John Ross, Esq; *Lanarkshire, and Lanerk, Linlithgow, &c.*
 Sir Lau. Dundas, Bart. *Edinburgh and Richmond*
 Thos. Foley, Esq; *Herefordshire and Droitwich*

ONE DEAD.

Henry Archer, *Coventry.*

**A List of the Sixteen Scotch PEERS elected for the
ensuing Parliament.**

DUKE OF	Gordon	
	Argyll	
	Athol	
EARL OF	Morton	
	Eglintoune	
	Abercorn	
	London	
	Strathmore	
	Dunmore	
	March	
	Marchmont	
	Roseberry,	<i>vice Bredalbane</i>
	Bute	
VISCOUNT	Stormont	
	Irwin	<i>vice E. of Rothes deceased.</i>
LORD	Cathcart	

The POLITICAL BAROMETER.

The following is a genuine copy of Mr. Wilkes's Letter to the King, which was delivered by his servant at the Queen's palace on the 4th of March, 1768.

S I R E,

I Beg thus to throw myself at your Majesty's feet, and to supplicate that mercy and clemency which shine with such lustre, among your many princely virtues.

Some former ministers, whom your Majesty, in condescension to the wishes of your people, thought proper to remove, employed every wicked and deceitful art to oppress your subject, and to revenge their own personal cause on me, whom they imagined to be the principal author of bringing to the public view their ignorance, insufficiency, and treachery to your Majesty and to the nation.

I have been the innocent, but unhappy victim of their revenge. I was forced by their injustice and violence into an exile, which I have never ceased for several years to consider as the most cruel oppression; because I no longer could be under the benign protection of your Majesty, in the land of liberty.

With a heart full of zeal for the service of your Majesty, and my country, I implore, Sire, your clemency. My only hopes of pardon are founded in the great goodness and benevolence of your Majesty; and every day of freedom you may be graciously pleased to permit me the enjoyment of in my dear native land, shall give proofs of my zeal and attachment to your service. I am, Sire,

Your Majesty's most obedient, and dutiful subject,

March 4, 1768.

JOHN WILKES.

The following is a Copy of Mr. Wilkes's Letter to Thomas Nuthall, Esq. Solicitor of the Treasury.

S I R,

London, March 22, 1768.

I TAKE the liberty of acquainting you, that in the beginning of the ensuing term I shall present myself to the Court of King's Bench. I pledge my honour as a gentleman, that on the very first day I will there make my personal appearance. I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant, JOHN WILKES.

In consequence of the promise contained in the above Letter, Mr. Wilkes appeared before the Court of King's Bench, on the 20th of April 1768, the first day of term, and there delivered the following speech.

" My Lords,

ACCORDING to the voluntary promise I made to the public, I now appear before this sovereign court of justice, to submit myself in every thing to the laws of my country.

Two verdicts have been found against me. One is for the republication of the North Briton, No. 45, the other for the publication of a ludicrous poem.

As to the re-publication of that number of the North Briton, I cannot yet see that there is the smallest degree of guilt. I have often read and examined with care that famous paper. I know that it is in every part founded on the strong evidence of facts. I find it full of duty and respect to the person of the king, although it arraigns in the severest manner the conduct of his Majesty's then ministers, and brings very heavy charges home to them. I am persuaded they were well grounded, because every one of those ministers has since been removed. No one instance of falshood has yet been pointed out in that pretended libel, nor was the word *false* in the information before this court. I am therefore perfectly easy under every imputation respecting a paper, in which truth has guided the pen of the writer, whoever he was, in every single line, and it is this circumstance which has drawn on me, as the supposed author, all the cruelties of ministerial vengeance.

As to the other charge against me for the publication of a poem, which has given just offence, I will assert that such an idea never entered my mind. I blush again at the recollection that it has been at any time, and in any way, brought to the public eye, and drawn from the obscurity in which it remained under my roof. Twelve copies of a small part of it had been printed in my house at my own private press. I had carefully locked them up, and I never gave one to the most intimate friend. Government, after the affair of the North Briton, bribed one of my servants to rob me of the copy, which was produced in the house of peers, and afterwards before this honourable court. The nation was justly offended, but not with me, for it was evident that I had not been guilty of the least offence to the public. I pray God to forgive, as I do, the jury, who have found me guilty of publishing a poem I concealed with care, and which is not even yet published, if any precise meaning can be affixed to any word in our language.

But, my lords, neither of the two verdicts could have been found against me, if the records had not been materially altered without my consent, and, as I am informed, contrary to law. On the evening only before the two trials, lord chief-justice Mansfield caused the records to be altered at his own house against the consent of my solicitor, and without my knowledge; for a dangerous illness, arising from an affair of honour, detained me at that time abroad.* The alterations were of the utmost importance, and I was in consequence

* The fact respecting the alteration of the record in the case of the North Briton is stated in the following manner in *the History of the Minority*, page 265. "When this cause stood ready for trial, Francis Barlow of the crown-office received directions from Mr. Wallace or Mr. Webb, to apply to a judge to get the information against Mr. Wilkes amended, by striking out the word "*purport*," and inserting in its stead, the word "*tenor*." Upon which Barlow applied to lord Mansfield, and obtained a summons to shew cause why

sequente tried the very next day on two new charges, of which I could know nothing. I will venture to declare this proceeding unconstitutional. I am advised that it is illegal, and that it renders both the verdicts absolutely void.

I have stood forth, my lords, in support of the laws against the arbitrary acts of ministers. This court of justice, in a solemn appeal respecting *General Warrants*, shewed their sense of my conduct. I shall continue to reverence the wise and mild system of English laws, and this excellent constitution. I have been much misrepresented; but under every species of persecution, I will remain firm and friendly to the monarchy, dutiful and affectionate to the illustrious prince who wears the crown, and to the whole Brunswick line.

As to all nice, intricate points of law, I am sensible how narrow and circumscribed my ideas are; but I have experienced the deep knowledge, and great abilities of my counsel. With them I rest the legal part of my defence, submitting every point to the judgment of this honourable court, and to the laws of England."

When Mr. Wilkes had finished his speech, Mr. Attorney-General moved for his immediate commitment on the outlawry. He was answered by Mr. Serjeant Glyn, Mr. Recorder of London, Mr. Mansfield, and Mr. Davenport, successively, who all moved the court for a writ of error, which Mr. Attorney-General, on being applied to last Saturday, had refused to grant. They specified several particulars in which the process of outlawry was erroneous, as sufficient grounds for the motion, and offered to give any bail for Mr. Wilkes's appearance. The court then proceeded to give their opinions *seriatim*. Lord Mansfield spoke long and forcibly on the impropriety of the procedure on both sides; observing, that the Attorney-General could not, with the least appearance of reason or law, move for the commitment of a person who was not *legally* in court; nor had the council for the defendant any better plea for their motion in favour of a man who appeared *gratis* before them: he added, that had Mr. Wilkes been brought thither by a writ of *Capias ut legatum*, the motion might then have been made with propriety, and the court might then have exerted, had

why it should not be so amended; and Mr. Phillips, Mr. Wilkes's solicitor, attended lord Mansfield, at his house in Bloomsbury-square, on Monday the 20th of February 1764, (which was the day before Mr. Wilkes's trial) in consequence of that summons. Lord Mansfield asked him, what objections he had to such an amendment? he answered, that he could not consent: upon which lord Mansfield said, he did not ask his consent, but wanted to know what were his objections; and asked, if it was not usual to amend informations, or to that effect. Then having read some precedents, out of a book which his lordship had in his hand, he made a written order to amend the said information in the manner applied for."

they pleased, their discretionary power in accepting or refusing his bail. His lordship further expressed himself very happy in having an opportunity of explaining his sentiments publicly, before so large an audience, with regard to the charge brought against him by Mr. Wilkes, of granting an order for the amendment in the information against him, in substituting the word *tenor* instead of *purport*; declaring repeatedly, that he thought himself bound in duty to grant it; that he conceived it to be the uniform practice of all the judges to grant such amendments; that he had himself frequently repeated the same practice in other causes, without the least objection being ever offered against it. The rest of the judges agreed with the Chief Justice in opinion, that as Mr. Wilkes was not legally before the court, no proceedings could be had upon his case; Mr. Justice Willes particularly remarking, "That the officers of the crown had no right to throw upon that court the business of committing Mr. Wilkes upon his *gratis* appearance, out of the common course of law, when they might have brought him before it legally by a writ of *Capias ut legatum*, which it would have been very easy to execute, since he had notoriously appeared in public for several weeks past; and, in that case, the Attorney-General might have made his motion with propriety."

It ought not to pass unnoticed, that Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Wilkes's solicitor, applied to the Attorney-General for his *fiat* to obtain a writ of error against Mr. Wilkes's outlawry; which Mr. Attorney at first promised to grant, but afterwards refused;—upon what pretence, or by what order, has not transpired.

Westminster-Hall, and all the places near it, were very full of people of all ranks, who assembled in great crowds; but behaved in a very peaceable and orderly manner. Not the least indecorum, or insult was offered to any; though an idle tale was artfully and industriously propagated during several of the preceding days, by the spies and other runners of the m—y, that great riots and tumults would certainly happen. This report, and that was all the reason that can be assigned, induced the magistrates of Middlesex, Westminster, &c. to order out all the constables to patrol the streets; and the ministry not chusing to be behind-hand in countenancing that false rumour, (though they, or their friends, were the first and only inventors of it) directed the whole military force in and about London and Westminster, to be in readiness on that day. Two battalions of the guards were kept under arms in St. James's Park, others were ready in St. George's Fields, and those at St. James's, the Savoy, Tower, &c. had the proper orders, in case they should be wanted, with several troops of horse. And it has been asserted that the men were furnished with sixteen rounds of ammunition.—The complexion of the court, and the disposition of the Favourite, are now so obvious and well known, as to render any comment unnecessary on this very extraordinary and most alarming military preparation.

On the 27th at noon, Mr. Wilkes sent to the sheriff's officer, Mr. Hill, to desire him to come to his lodgings and execute the *Capias ut legatum*, which had been issued: Mr. Hill accordingly attended and
served

served the *capias* on Mr. Wilkes; soon after Mr. Wilkes went with very respectable bail to the court of King's-Bench, where the cause was long argued by the counsel. Writs of error were now, after a week's delay, admitted by the Attorney-General and ordered by the court. Mr. Wilkes's counsel insisted on his being admitted to bail, which they offered unexceptionable and to any amount. The court acknowledged that they had a discretionary power to admit him to bail, with the consent of the prosecutor. Mr. Attorney-General as prosecutor for the crown, refused that consent, and Mr. Wilkes was committed to the custody of the Marshal of the King's-Bench prison. Mr. Wilkes then followed the Marshal into a private room, and from thence attended him and his two assistants to a hackney coach to be conveyed to Prison. The Rev. Mr. Horne only was permitted to go with Mr. Wilkes. Soon after the coach drove off the people ran together, and on Westminster-Bridge took the horses off, turned the coach round, and then drew it themselves quite through the city to the Three-Tuns in Spital-Fields. Mr. Wilkes often desired them to depart quietly, but in vain, and they forced out of the coach the Marshal and his two assistants, leaving only Mr. Horne with Mr. Wilkes. In their way through the city, they frequently asked Mr. Wilkes where he chose to go. He answered to the King's-Bench prison, where the laws of his country sent him. Afterwards, at the request of the Marshal, he desired them to stop at the Devil-Tavern, Temple-Bar; but they would not comply. As soon as Mr. Wilkes came to the Three-Tuns in Spital-Fields, he again desired the people to disperse; and, as soon as he could, left the house privately, by a back way, disguised, and came voluntarily, and surrendered himself to the prison of the King's-Bench.

An Account of the extraordinary Conclusion of the Cumberland Election.

Extract of a Letter from Cockermouth, dated April 23.

THIS day the High-Sheriff of Cumberland made his return of members for the county. In the course of the poll 373 of the freeholders who tendered their votes for Mr. Curwen and Mr. Fletcher, and 57 of the friends of Sir James Lowther and Mr. Senhouse, were rejected by the returning officer. After two or three days taken for deliberation, the Sheriff proceeded this morning to further rejections, and struck out of the poll-book upwards of 50 of the voters for Mr. Curwen and Mr. Fletcher, and about one-fourth part of that number from Sir James Lowther's and Mr. Senhouse's list. On the result of the whole the High-Sheriff found that the numbers were, for

Henry Curwen, Esq.	2139
Sir James Lowther	1977
Henry Fletcher, Esq.	1975
Major Senhouse	1891

and he thereupon returned Mr. Curwen and Sir James Lowther. The greatest part of those who were rejected in prejudice of Mr. Curwen and Mr. Fletcher, were neighbours to the former of these gentlemen, and lived within his manors. The objection taken to them was, the land-tax assessments were not duly signed and sealed
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by the commissioners, though the voters were rated in the duplicate, and actually paid, and had for years paid the land-tax; and it is very observable that the estate Mr. Curwen gave in as his qualification for knight of the shire was not sufficient, in the judgment of the Sheriff, to intitle him to vote as a forty shillings a year freeholder, on account of the informality of the assessment.—Yesterday evening a very numerous band of sailors, to the amount of several hundreds, marched into this place from Whitehaven (a town belonging to Sir James Lowther) with drums beating and colours flying; intended no doubt to secure the freedom of our election.—No mob whatever appeared on the other side during the long continuance of the election.

An address to Richard Peers, and William Nath, Esqrs; Sheriffs, on the intended publication of the London Poll.

Gentlemen,

THE moderation, propriety, and true spirit, which so eminently distinguished your conduct, during the too last contested elections of London and Middlesex, deserve the thanks of every lover of his country. Confident, that every hint, therefore, respecting the peace of society, will meet with a candid reception from gentlemen, who have exerted themselves so much in its service, I take the liberty, in this public manner, to appeal to you upon a subject now under consideration, which I apprehend to be at this time of *no little consequence*.

What I mean to allude to, is the publication of the late poll for the city members.

In the discussion of subjects of this nature, every thing that can be alleged, either for or against, ought to be fairly stated; and as I would wish to be thought impartial, I must acknowledge, that there is one circumstance, which is very much in favour of the publication, viz. that it may prove an exceeding good job for some bookseller. This is the only argument that at present occurs to me in its favour; but, weighty as it is, I think myself bound in honour to mention the same, in justice to my own character, and out of friendship for the ingenious Mr. Rivington, who, as being of the common council, I make no doubt will be gratified with the same.

But, in opposition to this, gentlemen, I am confident, that a moment's reflection must convince every unprejudiced person, that the publication of the poll must, at this time, be attended with the worst of consequences. For with what view can any honest man be desirous of the same? It may be said, perhaps, "that he may know his friends from his enemies." To this I answer, that an honest man cannot look upon those as his enemies who have voted against him; but must be convinced, that every man has a right, without influence or controul, to vote as he thinks proper. An honest man, therefore, cannot even be angry with his neighbour for being against him, much less can he be desirous of the publication of the poll to facilitate the means of his *revenge*. Should you say, that he may wish for it out of innocent curiosity, it may in answer
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be observed, that an honest man, out of mere curiosity, would never propose an investigation that had the remotest appearance of reviving a party spirit, and sowing the seeds of discord among so many thousand families as there are liverymen of London.

Every one that has made the least observation on the nature of party spirit, must be sensible that there is no meanness that its bigots do not stoop to—no despicable and oppressive littlenesses that they are not guilty of. No honest man, therefore, can wish to see the livery of London ranged in black and white, under the banners of their respective leaders; to have it put in the power of every malicious person to wreak his malice and revenge against a worthy neighbour who may happen to have been on the other side; or to have copies of the poll lying upon every coffee-house table, to foment a rancorous and uncharitable spirit.

Perhaps the livery of London was never more divided than at the last election; or the interests of the several candidates supported with more animosity and zeal. Of the worse consequence, therefore, would such a publication prove. Were we all equally independent, the mischiefs beforementioned must be the natural effects of it: but supposing there be many dependent liverymen, every argument that I have before made use of, acquires a double force. For it is too much to be feared, that the zealots of each party will resent to the utmost the refused vote of every liveryman, that, from a supposed obligation, they judged they had a right to command.

I look upon it that every elector is strictly bound to give his vote according to his conscience; but by publishing the poll, you may throw difficulties upon the honest man who may thus have voted according to his conscience, and eventually punish him for that conduct for which he deserves encouragement and praise.

Should any one say that it was all along given out that the poll was intended to be published, and that every voter at the time ought to have considered that—to this I answer—that if that was the case, the propagators of such a report (who I suppose are those that are now carrying it into execution) ought to be held in universal detestation. Such a report must have been spread solely to intimidate the electors, and to take away from those, whose connections in trade, or otherwise, render them dependent, the freedom of their choice.

It is absolutely making use of an undue influence; and ought to disqualify any candidate that should be guilty of so great an infringement on the freedom of the electors, as it apparently renders infamous every private person's character that may have been rogue enough to adopt so base a measure. Supposing therefore the publication to have been threatened, (as I am fearful it was, and with what view is but too apparent) such a threat has a direct tendency to subvert the freedom of the election, and of course must be an injury done to every individual, and to the constitution itself. Supposing it not to have been threatened, I grant that in that case the freedom of the election was not infringed, but the unexpected publication of it, subjects those gentlemen that may have voted
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according to their conscience, though contrary to the injunctions and wishes of their customers and friends, to the after resentments of such, who, through the greatness of their zeal, or the maliciousness of their hearts, may think themselves aggrieved. And it not only is attended with such present inconveniences, but must have a bad and destructive influence upon all future elections.

It may not also be improper here to observe, that the open manner in which our electors gave their suffrages, is, in the general opinion, defective and wrong; and that the contrary practice of balloting might, with great benefit to the community, be substituted in its room. I could here give several proofs that the latter was the practice of many of the wisest states of antiquity; but it is sufficient to my present purpose to observe, that it is the opinion of the generality of my countrymen, who may be supposed to be the best judges of the spirit and temper of the times, that it would be of infinite service to this constitution, if all our elections, of what kind soever, were decided by secret ballot, and not by open poll. I might also add, that balloting would not only prevent future animosity, but bribery also, did I suppose that the meanest liveryman of London could be in the least obnoxious to so detestable a crime, or any person daring enough to offer himself a candidate for the city of London, so devoid of principle as to countenance it.

From what has been said above upon this subject, I leave every one to judge from what motives the publication of the poll can proceed; but for my own part, I do not scruple to say that I think it can only proceed from a jacobitical, revengeful, factious, persecuting, oppressive, and bribing spirit.

The language of such as are for publishing the poll is this, "Gentlemen, let us publish the poll, and we shall then see who and who are together. We shall then be enabled to come at our enemies, and to hunt down such as have not voted as we could have wished. We shall be able to bring the thunder of administration upon some; turn others out of such places as they hold under the city; reward such as have been steady to us, according to our promises; and, in short, be able to be revenged, to the utmost of our abilities, on our enemies."

I am informed, gentlemen, that it is in the sheriff's power, and no one's else, to publish the poll—to you, therefore, I appeal, as men and christians, requesting you to consider well, before you order it to be done, what at this particular juncture may be the consequences; since, whatever the consequences may prove, you are accountable to God and to your country for the same.

As to myself, I care not if all the world knew how I voted; but have taken the trouble of writing these lines to you from motives of benevolence.

[Gazetteer April 4, 1768.]

An Independent Liveryman.

*To the Liverymen of LONDON.**On the same Subject.*

Gentlemen,

IN the Gazetteer of the 4th instant, I took the liberty to address a few lines to Mess. Peers and Nash, our worthy Sheriffs, on the subject of the publication of the late poll for the city members.

By the spirit with which the argument was taken up by the public, I flattered myself, as there could then have been but little done in that *blessed work*, that the publication of it would have been suppressed; but since I find that *that Star Chamber measure* is still likely to be carried into execution, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of one of our representatives (Mr. Trecothick) to the contrary, I think it my duty, as a citizen, once more to take up the pen.

Far be it from me to think, that any thing I can say will be of the least avail, since I now apprehend it to be the offspring of a Jacobitical and Scottish faction, "Who (as lord C——m once observed) want wisdom, and hold principles incompatible with Liberty and Reason." But though I cannot prevent the execution of the measure, I shall do no inconsiderable service, if I can lead the public to the discovery of its abettors, and, by that means, enable it hereafter to form a better judgment of some few conspicuous characters; requesting my fellow citizens to call to mind that excellent criterion, "By their fruits ye shall know them."

It seems to be acknowledged on all hands, that the first hint for the publication of the poll came from Administration to the Chair, as a circumstance that would be highly acceptable to the Court. The atrociousness of this attempt (if true) is beyond the power of words to describe, and can only obtain belief from such as are acquainted with those well attested letters relating to the Hampshire election, published at the dying request of the late Henry BILSON Legge, Esq.

But to those who are unacquainted with that most infamous negotiation, it may not be amiss to support the probability of my assertion, by one or two more recent instances. The first is the late grant of the forest of Inglewood, in Cumberland; from which it appears, that a noble family, of the first consequence in the kingdom, and ever steadfast friends to the illustrious House of Hanover, is treated in the most cavalier, nay some say in the most unprecedented manner, to answer a mere electioneering purpose, and to gratify, in that their darling passion, the son-in-law of the aspiring and restless Favourite. The second instance I beg leave to refer to, is a fact equally well known with the former, I mean the injuction from the M——y (as appears by Mr. B——n's letter) in favour of the four Old Members, with which the publication of the poll seems to be materially connected.

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And it is more probable still, that the hint for the publication should come from the quarter I mentioned, when it is considered that there is too much reason to believe that it may be principally desired to facilitate the means of revenge upon the friends of Mr. Wilkes; the man, to whose steadfast opposition, and spirited writings, we are indebted for the expulsion of L— B— from the open exercise of his ministerial tyranny. No wonder therefore the Favourite, and those under his influence, should greedily embrace every opportunity that affords them the most distant prospect of gratifying their malice, even upon the meanest of the friends of that man, who blasted their Jacobitical schemes—checked their Stuart-like encroaching attempts—restored the Liberty, the almost expiring Liberty of the subject and the press, and brought back our constitution once more to the standard of revolution principles.

I may perhaps have been led here into too great a warmth, but I hope my readers will excuse it; for I must own I see no material difference between a General Warrant and a Letter de Cachet, the grand instrument of tyranny in the French government.

But to return to the subject—It is remarkable (let the honour of the first hint be L— B—'s or not) that the first mention of the publication of the poll came from the Hon. Mr. H—, whose family were never once suspected to entertain principles favourable to Liberty. It is notorious that his great U—le was many months a prisoner in the Tower for attempting to set aside the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover, and to introduce the Pretender; and yet the great Nephew of this same *worthy* gentleman (I do not *reproach* him for entertaining the principles of his family, for perhaps he may *glory* in them) is now one of our City M—s, a courtier, and a placeman. A seeming contradiction this, and must so remain; except people will be censorious enough to believe, that the court is come over to the principles of the H—s, respecting prerogative and K—craft, and not the H—s to the revolution principles of the House of H—r.

But be this as it may, it may easily be supposed, how, in obedience to the ministerial mandate, he should propose to the rest of the gentlemen concerned, the publication of the poll, though not so easy to acquit those gentlemen of imprudence, who, without taking a moment to consider of an affair of so much consequence to the peace and well-being of so many worthy individuals, implicitly gave their consent.

In justice to so respectable characters, I must suppose that *their* consent was unthinkingly given; and that when it was once given, they were not suffered to retract.

I mentioned before, that Mr. T—k had used his utmost endeavours to get the publication suppressed; and I believe I may safely venture to assert further, that he generously offered, in case of the suppression, to bear his proportion of any expence, that might have been previously incurred on that account; but I have

not

not heard any good and sufficient reason yet assigned, why his laudable endeavours have not had the desired effect ; neither have I heard that any other of the candidates have ever given themselves the least trouble in this affair, though apparently of so much consequence.

I am also at a loss to account for the conduct of Mess. Peers and Nash, our worthy Sheriffs, in this d——y business, and must either suppose that they have it not in their power to do any thing in it, it having gone *too far* previous to any interposition ; or that they are indifferent about the opinion of the public, and their fellow-citizens, and regardless of any favours that may hereafter be in your power to bestow.

For my own part, though it affects not me in the least, I shall never forget the injury done to the public.

In answer to some expostulations that have been made upon the subject to a *Jack in office*, who has had a very principal hand in bringing this *laudable and most worthy work* to bear : It has been said, that the public had been given to understand, that it would be published, and that as the *parties concerned* had given their consent to the publication, it *must* go on. But this is an abuse of words, for the parties ultimately concerned are the *electors*, and not the *elected* ; and therefore the consent of the *former* in *honour and justice* is necessary.

The publication is not only therefore an injury done to the constitution, but an *injury—a piece of injustice* done to every individual liveryman that voted at the late election, whose name is thus publicly hung up, without his consent, as a mark for the poisonous arrows of ambition, malice, and revenge, and the persecuting spirit of the disappointed, unrelenting Favourite.

It has been said, that as the *ingenious* Mr. Rivington has had the publication promised him, and had actually been making preparations for the same, the order could not properly be recalled. This circumstance I look upon to be of no weight, but mention it purely in deference to the opinion of Mr. H——, who undoubtedly would never have advanced it as an argument, had he not esteemed it of some moment. Momentous, however, as to some it may appear to be, it is entirely removed by Mr. T——k's proposal for every one to pay his share towards the reimbursement of Mr. Rivington ; and the reason of this proposal being rejected, as it could not proceed from any pecuniary consideration, so it can only be satisfactorily accounted for from the principles I have before in this, and my former letter, laid down.

Thus, Gentlemen, I have given you the history, as far as I have hitherto been able to learn, of this business ; and in conclusion shall just hint to you, that the poll, when published, will most probably be thought worthy of a place in the same chest with dooms-day book, and be consecrated, with many other tracts of the same nature, to the most infamous, the vilest of all purposes, the purposes of *revenge* !

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Northampton.

GENTLEMEN,

MY curiosity was much excited by a passage in the advertisement for a meeting to consider of proper persons to represent this county in the ensuing parliament; and I must own I looked upon their circumstance of our being desired, by the lord lieutenant, to meet on the third of December, as very unusual, if not wholly unprecedented. After carefully examining many advertisements of a similar nature, particularly those from the counties of Oxford, Derby, and Bedford, where the property and influence of the respective lord lieutenants are supposed to be of sufficient weight to enable them to recommend at least one member; and likewise from a Welch county or two, where the lord lieutenant is a commoner, and consequently more nearly interested in election matters than any peer can be; I still found it in every case the same: the advertisements were signed with the high sheriff's name, and appointed by his sole authority, at least to all outward appearance, no lord lieutenant's interposition being once mentioned, or even hinted at in any one of them.

In consequence however of this unconstitutional advertisement, a meeting ensued; but as by far the most considerable part of the Freeholders, of every rank and denomination, neither did, nor were intended to appear, which clearly accounted for the so-much boasted Unanimity, it is to be hoped a short narrative of what passed will not be unacceptable to my countrymen.

I had frequently heard the Earl of H---'s eloquence celebrated, and though unhappily of a very opposite way of thinking from his tools and dependents, in regard to his political merits, I, like them, waited with impatience for the *Ciceronian* Speech I was taught to expect; he *did* open the meeting, but in so confused, so ungraceful a manner, that I was astonished to the last degree; all I could collect from his Speech was, a most unmeaning apology for the meeting being appointed by his desire, on a late day; a wish that the two present Members had both offered their services again, and rendered such public meeting unnecessary; and lastly, a recommendation of unanimity to the county. This late day was certainly a judicious step, from the advanced season of the year, from the parliament's being now sitting, and many of the most considerable persons of the county being in London, attending the national service; his Lordship well knew the meeting must be a thin one, and therefore more likely to be subservient to his measures.---Whether (as many persons apprehend) the Lower H---c is upon the point of being swallowed up in the Upper, I must confess myself neither politician enough to determine, nor patriot enough to busy myself overmuch in disquisitions of that nature. Power naturally follows property, whether in the hands of peers or commoners; and the principles of a man, not his rank or station in life, seem the objects of enquiry. The fence between the two H---s having been thus avowedly and glaringly broken down, by the dictator of this county, and the Tory faction, who are become the new objects of his patronage, perhaps on account of the great assistance they afforded him in supporting the present Royal Family in the rebellion of 1745; let us suppose (in compliance with these proceedings) that in a county, circumstanced like ours, the concurrence and support of some of the principal peers is necessary to its representatives; permit me, on that supposition, to appeal to any cool and unbiased man, whether the present L---d L---'s recommendation ought to have the first weight, and whether there are not, in the county of Northampton, peers of illustrious families, extensive fortunes, and unquestionable abilities, who, by an uniform and steady Opposition to General Warrants, and the arbitrary Extension of Excise Laws, have, in a great measure, contributed towards driving from the helm of government a set of men equally notorious for their impiousness and servility? But to return to his L---p's speech; the wish that the two present Members had both offered their services again, and rendered such public meeting unnecessary can proceed only from an avowed enmity to the freedom of election. It seems as if he were vain and idle enough to believe, a permission from a L--- L--- to retain
their

their seats another parliament, a more honourable testimony of the rectitude of their parliamentary conduct, than the approbation of the constituents at a general meeting. As to the Unanimity he recommended to the county, it is needless to be circumstantial in my observations on that head, as I presume there is not one man among you so unacquainted with the dictionary of modern politics, as not to be sensible, that by Unanimity he meant an implicit submission to his own will and pleasure. Under an Unanimity of this nature has the miserable town and corporation of N---- groaned for these last thirty years; a nobler spirit has indeed of late animated them, and I trust we shall soon see them emerge from despotism and infamy, by the assistance of men, who have, on every occasion, shewn themselves real friends to the Liberty and Constitution of their Country.

A sudden silence prevailed when the L---d L---t had ended; whether owing to the terror of his late, or the groundless apprehensions of the possibility of his future administration, I presume not so much as to conjecture.

Sir E. J. one of the old members, was then proposed in a very sensible and genteel speech by a person of considerable fortune and ancient family; the motion met with universal concurrence. As soon as he had returned his thanks, Sir W. D. read a very polite letter from Mr. C. the other representative, which was allowed to be in every respect worthy of that Gentleman's abilities, and truly amiable character; at the conclusion of it he expressed his wishes that the county may elect a person of the same sentiments towards them, but of superior abilities. He could have couched it in no stronger terms, had he been meditating for ages the severest sarcasms against his intended successor, who having just waited for the formality of being proposed, hastened to shew the contrast between Mr. C.'s letter and his own speech, which was so forced and spiritless, that I sat for some moments in a kind of stupid amaze; in the midst of it I caught at some phrase which seemed altogether new to me, in order to have hung it forth to public view, but it eluded all my vigilance, and while I was still catching at some succeeding dulcets, it irrecoverably slipped my memory. Easily did I console myself for the loss, reflecting, that if wit is of so delicate a nature as not to be transplanted without the utmost difficulty, stupidity and insignificance have also this peculiarity, that it is impossible to carry them far from the fountain head. Sir W. D. at last told us, that he should not dishonour our choice by any thing mean; I believe I may in return venture to assure him of this comfortable truth, that if courts find him (as I presume they will) one of those staunch High Churchmen, whom his Faction affect to distinguish by the title of Honest, they will infallibly leave him so, and that amidst all the gilded snares spread forth in this sinful age, there will never be found any administration weak enough to think of seducing such a man from the great and glorious principles of Toryism.

Some very faint huzzas from a small part of the small meeting closed the business of this strange day; but whenever a future vacancy shall happen, I hope we may then flatter ourselves that it will prove more auspicious to the friends of independency and of Revolution principles, and that these are the feeble efforts of the tools of General Warrants, and despotic administrations, the last faint gleam of an insolent, expiring, and despicable faction.

I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient humble Servant,

Dec. 5, 1767.

A Northamptonshire Freeholder,

P. S. The unusual stile of an Advertisement, "*To the Clergy, Gentlemen, and other Freeholders of the County of Northampton.*" signed by Sir William Dolben, and so often repeated, must have convinced my impartial countrymen, that I drew up the above Narrative with all necessary diffidence, when I prophesied *we should be found "a staunch High Churchman"* The rational and moderate part of the Clergy, whom he has *thus exalted*, smile with contempt on so ridiculous an advocate for their supremacy: while we, *other Freeholders*, (as we are *there* called) easily foresee what to expect from a Candidate whose very address to us is an insolent display of that superiority over the Yeomanry, which the first persons in the kingdom condescend to lay aside at such a season. Eut, unhappily for us, a small junto of the least considerable and most incapable men in the county, have so grossly abused its pacific disposition, as to dare to make *offers* of it among themselves, with as little decency or respect to the rest of their

Fellow

Fellow Constituents, as if it had been the most abject Borough, and entirely in their own disposal. Did there need any instance of the presumption and pusillanimity of these managers, I would beg leave to remind you of their conduct in the last contest for a Verdurership. The resentment of patient men is slow, yet formidable; nor is there the least room to doubt, that when the Spirit of Independence is again roused by repeated indignities, it will strike our oppressors with the same dismay, and be attended with the same triumph.

March 26, 1768.

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW OF NEW BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, &c.

The Case of his Grace the Duke of Portland: respecting two Leases lately granted by the Lords of the Treasury, to Sir James Lowther, Bart, with Observations on the Motion for a remedial Bill for quieting the Possession of the Subject. And an Appendix, consisting of Authentic Documents. 8vo. 1s. Almon.

THE facts narrated in this case are of a most alarming nature, and well deserve the serious consideration of every friend to the English constitution, and the rights and properties of the subject. If property may be thus taken and thus given away, it is hard to say what property in the kingdom is safe, or where the mischief will end. A king's messenger seizing a man's papers and effects by a general warrant, is not more alarming than the lords of his majesty's treasury granting a lease of one subject's estate to another, without hearing the injured person in defence of his property. When we are informed that the forest of Inglewood in Cumberland, was taken from the duke of Portland, and granted to Sir James Lowther, the Favourite's son-in-law, with a view to carry a contested election; we cannot help saying, that this transaction is upon the very face of it, such a signal proof of the Favourite's absolute power over the present administration, and of such meanness, and slavish obedience in them; and is such a manifest violation of public and private right; that it is no wonder it has, (if such a circumstance be possible) increased the public abhorrence of that obnoxious Favourite, and for ever covered his instruments with contempt and infamy.

Observations on the power of Alienation in the crown, before the first of Queen Anne, supported by Precedents, and the Opinions of many learned Judges. Together with some remarks on the conduct of Administration, respecting the case of the duke of Portland. 8vo. 1s. Almon.

CONTAINS a full refutation to all that has been published, with a view to invalidate the duke of Portland's claim, and

and shews both by precedents, and the opinions of several great lawyers, that before the first of Anne, there was a power in the crown of alienating the crown lands. The observations are sagacious, pertinent, and spirited. The whole is evidently the work of a gentleman in the law, and deserves to be read by every person who reflects on the late extraordinary proceeding with the duke of Portland.

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A Judicious collection of a considerable number of excellent and much admired pieces of wit and satire; written during the last ten or fifteen years, and not preserved in any other Collection. They are chiefly political, and the work is ornamented with a caricature frontispiece.

A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy. By Mr. Yorick. 2 vol. Small 8vo. 6s. Becket.

JUSTLY esteemed the best of the late Mr. Sterne's ingenious performances. To that original vein of humour which was so natural to him, and which constitutes the chief merit of his works, he has here added the moral and the pathetic; so that even while he is entertaining (as he always is) we are agreeably instructed, and our passions are sometimes touched with the strongest sensations of pity and tenderness.

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And Fed the Hounds that help'd him to pursue*

T H E
POLITICAL REGISTER.

For J U N E, 1768.

N U M B E R X V.

To the AUTHOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

May 20.

THE present times have produced a wonderful variety of *state letters*, which have for a time amused, and fixed the attention of, the public. Lord *Holland* gave us a very curious one addressed to the Members, about his *taking the conduct of the House of Commons*. Lord *Chatbam* favoured us with another in excuse of his wife's title, and his own pension, and I suppose we shall have a second about his own title, and place. But the present hero with the public is Lord —; and I have seen no letter of so much importance in itself, so pregnant with future mischief, as that said to be his Lordship's, first printed in the *St. James's Chronicle* of Tuesday the 17th of May, and from thence copied into most of the daily prints. The two first letters have been only laughed-at, but the last has been much wept over. The alarm it has given is indeed general, but I hope, by means of your Register, to be the happy instrument of quieting the minds of men, who are now in greater apprehensions for the fate of the civil liberty of this country than I ever remember.

D d d

The

The paper, Sir, is a letter signed B——, and dated —— Office, May 11, 1768, and relates to the horrid massacre in St. George's fields on the day before, for which the officers and soldiers are thanked by the —— at —— in the —— name, as it is generally supposed, but I believe, very unjustly.

I find that three different opinions about this paper prevail among my friends. The first, but the most improbable, is, that the signature B—— means Lord ——, and that —— Office, May 11, 1768, means the ***Office. The second, rather more probable, is, that B—— means Lord Bute, and —— Office, is his Lordship's *private office*, from whence it is known that every order of importance, even every hint of what is to be done, has for several years issued. But the third opinion, to which I adhere, is, that the letter is an absolute forgery, invented by some Scottish Jacobite, to create future murders among us, as well as to throw an eternal odium, and indelible infamy on the present administration, which he well knew nothing could so thoroughly effect.

The first opinion, that such a letter could come from Lord —— is absolutely impossible. Let us but one moment take into consideration his Lordship's political character, and we shall see that he never could be the author of such an outrage on the civil power of his native country in compliment to the military. He is no military man. Prowess never made any part of his character. He is confessedly *sola libidine fortis*. He knows no campaigns, but in the field of love, and during the winter in the House of Commons, where no minister ever found a *mutiny and desertion* bill necessary with respect to him, any more than the other troops not in regimentals, who are in the pay of the Treasury. *Pliability* alone has distinguished him. I know no where so slight and flimsy a man; such a mere panado lord. He was only remarkable in the late reign for being a kind of *make-weight* among the ministers. There is scarcely a department of the state he has not filled for a few hours, or a few days, sometimes, till the Great could agree, for a few weeks. If there was any little dirty job in the old King's time to be carried with respect to Hanover, it was left to his management, but he never was employed in any thing of real importance. He therefore never
could

could be thought of for the boldest measure which ever minister ventured upon, the thanking officers and soldiers for an act, which different counties, and more than one jury, had found to be *wilful murder*, and the desiring them to go on in the same way with *alacrity*. In such a service it is not sufficient that a man has no principle; he must be a bold, daring, wicked man, of sterner stuff, than Lord ———, and of better parts, to varnish over the black deeds he has perpetrated himself, or commanded and applauded in others. In the present case there is only a heart to approve, there is no tongue to justify, such an atrocious villainy.

I have another strong reason on this head. Lord ——— is an Englishman. Would an *Englishman* have thanked *Scottish* officers and soldiers for having in so inhuman a way spilt the blood of his innocent countrymen, for it is clear that every person killed was at the time harmless and inoffensive, and had been so the whole day. One was on a hay-cart, another selling oranges, a third walking in the road, &c. The letter says that the writer has *a pleasure in informing them, that his ——— highly approves*—what? this rank and foul murder? I am sure, Sir, that assertion cannot be true, and could I believe that Lord ——— talked of such a thing being his *pleasure*, I should hold his Lordship in horror, as the blackest soul that ever animated a human body. It would make every other man shudder, and whoever can *approve* such a fell and horrid deed, as the late bloody massacre, I desire he may do me the honour to *disapprove* every single action of my life, and grace me with the sanction of his *displeasure*.

As ——— at ———, it must be supposed that the noble Lord is exactly informed of all the transactions of that memorable Tuesday, with respect to the military. How then could his Lordship set his hand to a known falsehood in thanking the officers and soldiers for *preserving the public peace*, which was only broke by themselves? Till the arrival of this *Scottish* detachment every thing was quiet both in and about the prison: afterwards they raised a disturbance by the rough manner of treating the people, by their abuse, their menaces, and the actually pushing at and wounding them with their bayonets. There was not the shadow of a pretence for the military's being called in at first, and as little for their insolent and cruel behaviour

haviour when they came. They in fact caused a tumult near the prison, and then fired repeatedly on every body indiscriminately, as well there as at a considerable distance from it, on people in the neighbouring fields, and on the passengers in two high roads. There has not been such a massacre of the English by Scotsmen since *Preston Pans* and *Falkirk*. That Tuesday wore a more military appearance in St. George's fields, than any day since the *Revolution*. Mr. *Wilkes* told his friends, that he thought he lay in camp that and the two following nights, such was the din and clashing of arms, such the neighing and trampling of the cavalry. The marches and counter-marches of the troops, their divisions and subdivisions, the foot advancing, attacking, and afterwards pursuing, as in the case of poor young Allen, killing those they might have taken prisoners, the horse at full speed, galloping backwards and forwards, and firing, made the Tuesday seem a day of battle, and the people enemies, not the unarmed dutiful subjects of a gracious — at full peace with them. Such a day has not been in England since the accession of the mild house of Brunswick. May our annals never tell of such another! Good God! Sir, can Lord — call this *doing their duty with alacrity*, and declare that the — *approves* such unprovoked cruelty? it can never be. I will never believe it. The letter cannot be wrote by any man, who has the common feelings of humanity, much less by a nobleman of education, brought up not under the Tories, but under the true friends of liberty, who is of some sort of character and abilities, and though not *too full of the milk of human kindness*, not a barbarian, nor a savage blood-thirsty minister of the absolute decrees of a sanguinary *Muly Ismael*.

But it is possible that the signature *B—* may mean Lord *B****, and — *Office* may be *his private office*, from whence without the —'s knowledge so many orders of the last importance have issued, as much the fabric of his Lordship and his private junto, as their peace of Paris, although neither the name of *Stuart* nor *Bute* appeared even to that, but others were ordered to sign. We cannot see in a more glaring light the difference between a beloved King and a detested Favourite than we now do at home. The King loves the English, and is beloved by them. *B—* hates, and is hated by the whole body of this nation. In the year 1763

he would not venture to dine with the Lord Mayor in our capital, till he had secured a set of bruisers as his body-guard, under the conduct of one *Richardson*, and contracted with him *to insure his life* for the day. How narrowly has he twice escaped here the fury of an injured people? and may he ever escape it, to be reserved for the just punishment of his *public* crimes, after so fair a trial and so full a conviction, that scarcely a Scot or a courtier may remain, who will have so little sense of shame as even to whisper that he is guiltless! From his whole conduct we may be sure the late massacre is grateful to him, though not to his master, who wishes to see us *live* and prosper, whereas the interest of the *real minister*, the *Scot*, is that we may be *destroyed*, or at least broke down to his yoke, that his creatures may seize and riot in the spoils, and therefore the letter desires the troops to go on, *as they have done, with alacrity*, that is, to be his *murdering ministers*, to kill the English, like flocks of sparrows, in absolute wantonness, without pity or remorse.

I am however, Sir, rather inclined to think that the letter in question is a forgery. It states in express terms an absolute impossibility, *that his ——— highly approves of the conduct of both the officers and men, and means that his r—— approbation should be communicated to them.* In the conclusion it is said *that every possible regard shall be shewn to them; their zeal and good behaviour upon this occasion deserve it, and in case any DISAGREEABLE CIRCUMSTANCE should happen in the execution of their duty, they shall have every defence and protection that the law can authorize, and this office can give.* It cannot be, Sir, that the first magistrate of this country could command such thanks to be given to the officers and soldiers for what an English jury had found to be *wilful murder*, and that this first magistrate should be a prince of the House of Brunswick. There cannot be imagined so great an inconsistency. Then, to allude to such a crime as ———, and to call it only a DISAGREEABLE CIRCUMSTANCE, *to promise every possible regard, every defence, every protection*, which words must be intended to hold out the idea and hope of a PARDON, and to beg the troops to be eager to commit future murders on the same condition, and such full security, by desiring them *to continue, AS THEY HAVE DONE, to perform their duty WITH*
ALA-

ALACRITY; all these particulars harrow up my soul, and would leave me a prey to madness and despair, if I were not satisfied the whole was a forgery, a mere invention of some malignant spirit, who seeks our destruction. The —— I am persuaded, is grossly abused in this whole affair, and his sacred name unwarrantably made use of to purposes he neither knows nor can approve. His r—— heart I am sure bleeds for the late cruel and unjust sufferings of his dear people, whom he loves and cherishes, and I expect that we shall soon see a proclamation for the apprehending of *Alexander Murray*, Esq; who has absconded since the verdict of the coroner's inquest, in the same manner as there was in the late reign for his name sake and uncle, although that was only for not kneeling before the House of Commons, not for *wilful murder*. The —— is our common father, and we know him to be an indulgent and merciful parent to us all. We are therefore sure that he grieves still more than we do at the unmerited distress and irreparable loss of some worthy families. Besides the painful feelings which the tenderness of his nature cannot fail to give on so affecting an occasion, he has the additional concern as our sovereign, as the great guardian of the lives of the people committed to his care, that he has lost several good and faithful subjects, who might have been as useful to the state as to their own families, now, alas! for ever deprived of all hope and comfort—But, Sir, my mind is too deeply affected to dwell longer on such horrid scenes—I am forced to conclude, but I cannot forbear trying out in the words of Shakespeare,

I think our country sinks beneath the yoke.
It weeps : it bleeds ; and each new day a gash
Is added to her wounds.

I am, &c.

*For the POLITICAL REGISTER.**Epître à Mademoiselle GUIMARD, * par Mr. MARMONTEL.*

EST-IL bien vrai, jeune et belle damée !
 Que du Theatre, embelli par tes pas,
 Tu vas chercher dans de froids galetas
 L'Humanité plaintive, abandonnée ?
 Que cette main, qu'on baise nuit et jour,
 Verse en secret les tributs de l'Amour
 Sur l'Indigence à languir condamnée ?
 Quoi ? cette Hébé de roses couronnée,
 Qu'environnoit un essaim d'étourdis
 En fœur du pot s'en va dans un taudis
 Te soulager famille infortunée ?
 Elle est pour toi L'Ange du Paradis
 Et tu la crois au moins predestinée.
 Au lieu des jeux, des amours et des ris,
 Qui voltigeoient sous ses riches lambris
 Quelle est sa cour ? des Marmots en guenille
 Un bon viellard, une mere, une fille,
 A ses genoux je les vois attendrir
 Les Yeux en pleurs, Je crois tous les entendre
 Benir le ciel qui t'a fait belle et tendre.
 Tendre ? oui Guimard, sans tes jolis pechés
 Cent malheureux expiroient dans les larmes,
 Et leur salut est le prix de tes charmes.
 O ! que du ciel les desseins sont cachés !
 Rien n'est plus beau que de vivre en Hermitte
 Chacun le dit, cependant, il est clair
 Que si Guimard eut été Carmelite
 Ces malheureux seroient morts cet hiver.
 C'est donc ce Cœur si foible et si fragile,
 Que pour exemple au prône on citera ?
 O charité vertu de l'Evangile
 Quoi ! ton modele est donc à l'opera ?
 Mais quel dommage, hélas ! Dans la Coulisse
 La vertu même est, dit on, comme un vice ;
 Chere Guimard ton curé te louera,
 En te louant, il t'excommuniera.
 A son diner un devot moliniste
 Pour tous ses gouts indulgent moraliste

* Mademoiselle Guimard is an handsome dancer at Paris, who has a variety of lovers, from all of whom she received presents of value at the beginning of the new year, which she disposed of in charity.

Blâme les tiens, te damne en digérant
 Et jette à peine un œil indifférent
 Sur les malheurs d'un voisin Janséniste.
 Tu ne connois Molina ni Quinel,
 Mais l'indigent mais la foible pupile
 Dans ton corset trouve un cœur maternel.
 Ame celeste !—et du ciel on s'exile !
 Oui ! de tes Dons Dieu ne fait aucun cas ;
 Jamais au ciel on ne monte en cadence ;
 Tu fais le bien, mais tu danfes ; tes pas
 Sont applaudis ainsi que tes apas.
 Depuis David Dieu ne veut plus qu'on danse.
 Si tu mourois ; (car ce n'est plus te temps
 Où le plaisir rajeunissant les belles
 Leur assuroit un éternel Printemps ;
 Les Graces mêmes aujourd'hui sont mortelles)
 Si tu mourois on verroit ton cercueil
 Environné de mille amours en deuil
 Pleurant leur mere ; une foule attendrie
 De malheureux a qui tu rends la vie.
 Suivroit aussi ce funeste convoi,
 Mais ton curé ni même son vicaire
 Ni du bas cœur la troupe mercenaire
 Ne marcheroient en heurlant devant toi ;
 D'encens beni sans être parfumée
 Hors du Berail tu serois inhumée ;
 Tandis qu'un moine à loisir engraisé
 Dans le Saint Lieu va dormir *in Pace*,
 Et qu'un mondor lourd fardeau de ce monde
 D'Apoplexie étant mort à diné
 Dans sa Chapelle en vrai prédestiné
 Va repôser sa chair massive et ronde ;
 Mais pourquoi vais je attrister tes plaisirs ?
 Aime et jouis, suis tes gouts, ton caprice
 De tes Amants couronne les desirs,
 Aux malheureux tends une main propice ;
 Comme un ruisseau qui roule sur les fleurs
 Laisse couler ta brillante Jeunesse.
 Après avoir regné sur tous les cœurs
 Dans cinquante ans, un grand carme à confesse
 Fera ta paix—un songe séduisant
 Une erreur tendre, une douce folie
 Peut s'effacer, mais Dieu jamais n'oublie
 Qu'on fut sensible, et qu'on fut bienfaisant.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

RHADAMANTHUS. No. I.

THE — of — arrived to the post he now possesses by the help of great family connections, the collateral influence growing out of the affair and conduct of Mr. Wilkes, and the blind favour of a once great Commoner, who has since dwindled into a titled lunatic. The family connections, relying on their inseparable adherence to power, he has insulted; the madman, forgetting that *res est sacra miser*, he has utterly neglected—Mr. Wilkes whom, since the publication of the North Briton, he visited in the Tower, his Grace now brands with the appellation of a “most atrocious convict.”—

It is impossible, Sir, to state such facts, without an inclination to go into a more minute disquisition——

I do not wish “to press a falling man too far;” particularly one, “who, when he falls, must fall, like Lucifer, never to rise again.”—But when characters, created merely to sculk through life, into the oblivion of eternity, are seen in the most conspicuous and important stations of that community to which they belong—it then becomes the duty of every member of that community, in any degree capable of such a task, to make known both their publick and their *private* manners, (so far as the *latter* are necessary to elucidate the former) with that un pitying impartiality which historic truth requires—

Discretion, in domestic life, being universally attributed to the — of —, I must be candid enough to allow his Grace that virtue—and I hope that my readers will not suffer the idea of what may be concealed by this guarded habit, to add too much to the weight of those facts, which this *discreet young man* has unwillingly suffered to become public—

When he compelled the D——s to leave his house, declaring himself offended by her to a degree which he never would forgive, the world were unjust enough to suppose that his Grace must have some reasonable grounds for such measures, and for such language—but, when he was discovered to have been at the time, that kind, deluded, doating keeper, which he has since in a more glaring manner appeared to be, it became natural to suspect the reality of his motives.—If this object of his immoral attachment (to whom he commits the education of his children) is a woman of low origin and prostituted life—If, by the instigation of this woman, he has persecuted his D——s

with little illiberal cruelties, which even his own meanness could not have suggested to him—*If* to this favourite figure-dancer, when sick, he has grudged the expence of physic and fresh air, making himself contemptible in her eyes, at the moment when he was committing the most important secrets to her bosom—*If* he has been so void of paternal affection, as to refuse to see his dying child, because his conscience would not permit him to face the mother—*If* these are facts, it will be unnecessary to anticipate the conclusion, which the most common observer must draw from them—

The consideration of his public merits is attended with some difficulty; but, *when* I see a first L— of the T—, totally unable to defend himself, or the measures of his director in the senate—*when* the native bronze of his visage yields to paleness and timidity—*when* for his defence he has recourse to men, possessing neither principles nor property, avowedly, for their sake, violating arrangements already adopted, and promises absolutely made—*when* he satisfies with public money, those among the disappointed, who are capable of receiving such satisfaction, and with a dark insolence, which may some day prove fatal, leaves the others to seek their redress elsewhere—*when* his other public breaches of faith are daily explained by private covenants—*when* he tells us, that having entered into other agreements, he cannot adhere to his promises—*when* he leaves us to account for those agreements, by the supposition of fraud and public embezzlements—*when* trading companies are oppressed, because his Desdemona (once every mans Desdemona) and her sycophants, his friends, have dealings in their funds—*when* — power is made the tool, not only of his avarice, but of old rankling resentments—*when* private property is invaded by ministerial authority—*when* frequent instances are given of the weakest avarice, and most profligate want of honour—*when* the meanest timidity and irresolution are strangely connected with the most daring attacks on the liberties of the subject—*when* the miserable consequences of his power are private gain and public odium; I cannot help lamenting the situation of this country, for *surely this man was not made to be its minister.*—

To the RETURNING-OFFICER of _____

S I R,

PERMIT me to return you my most sincere and hearty thanks for your warm and steady support through the whole of the late sharply contested Election, and for the honour you have this day done me, by returning me *your* representative in the ensuing parliament. Your conduct on this occasion, is, I am persuaded, unequalled by any instance in the annals of this or any other country, and must ensure you the admiration and wonder of this and every succeeding age.

The firmness and zeal with which you resisted the utmost efforts of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County, who insolently pretended that they, and they only, had the right of electing members to represent the county in parliament, and the unexampled fortitude with which you have at last returned me, sacrificing every thing which is vulgarly thought most dear to a man of honour and a gentleman, to the glorious cause in which you were engaged, demands my warmest acknowledgments.

Though your noble efforts have not been attended with all the success which might have been hoped for, owing to the unconquerable obstinacy and licentious spirit of the Gentlemen, Clergy and Freeholders ; yet every body must concur with me in testifying, that if it had been possible for any returning officer that ever existed, to have returned both members contrary to the choice of the great and spirited county, you would have done it. And I flatter myself, that the zeal and firmness you are possessed of, may be of the most important service, *on future similar occasions*, if we should ever have an administration daring and public spirited enough, to make a thorough reform in the constitution of this country, by totally abolishing the democratical part of it, and entirely changing the present mode of popular Elections, which is found to be productive of so many evil consequences, and of so much trouble to the most spirited and able administrations.

To the EDITOR of the POLITICAL REGISTER.

S I R,

HAVING not, till very lately, seen in your 13th number, for last April, two letters on a most interesting subject, signed R. S. relative to your securing the responsibility of members of parliament, by obliging them to follow and observe the instructions of their constituents ; which proposal, among the

the number of mercenary wretches soliciting seats in the next parliament, was adopted by one worthy gentleman, Sir James Cotter, one of the candidates for the city of Oxford, who was nevertheless rejected.—I now take the first opportunity in my power, tho' late, and after the close of the general election, in duty to the candour, spirit, and probity of that candidate, and for the satisfaction of your readers in general, and the future emulation of many of them in particular, to relate of my own knowledge, that gentleman's unbiassed conduct on that occasion, and to recite in part his letter of advice to the electors of Great Britain in general, printed in the Oxford Journal, in December last, which must certainly have been the first public hint on this important subject, but by distance of place might not have been as speedily and generally known as it should have been, viz. “ I will not argue from individuals, “ how far *honour* is become an insufficient pledge for the faithful discharge of this very important trust, of making laws “ for the preservation of your laws, liberties, privileges, and “ properties, reposed in your representatives in parliament ; “ the enormous national debt, and heavy taxes, the extravagance and luxury of the great, and the daily decay of trade “ and manufactures, productive of the present calamitous condition of the poor, are manifest proofs of this defect. I “ would therefore recommend a declaration and oath to the “ following effect, to be previously signed and sworn, by whomsoever you should hereafter think fit to elect, to be publicly “ witnessed by a number of the constituents, and annexed to “ each part of the indentures of election—

“ I A. B. do voluntarily and solemnly swear and declare,
 “ in the presence of God, that I will, to the utmost of
 “ my power and abilities, faithfully execute the important trust reposed in me by my constituents, and
 “ will, from time to time, readily receive, and disinterestedly follow their instructions and commands,
 “ in order to prevent all the evil, and promote all the good advantages for them I possibly can, consistent with my duty to God, the constitution, and
 “ my conscience, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever. So help me God,

Witnesses present in open
 court at election.

A. B.”

“ This conditional obligation (continues he) cannot seem altogether harsh or unreasonable to be expected from Candidates of even the nicest honour, when they consider that there “ is no law to punish a breach of parole honour as breaches of
 “ the

“ the affirmation of Quakers equal to perjury, nor otherwise
 “ than by fruitless censure and reproach, which by the inequa-
 “ lity of station between the electors and elected, is quite inef-
 “ fectual; for when honour by general custom begins to warp,
 “ shame gradually disappears; besides, persons of almost every
 “ rank, and perhaps many Candidates themselves, have been
 “ voluntarily sworn into offices of emolument in the state, on
 “ Grand and Petty Juries, on trials of trifling properties, and,
 “ in short, in all matters of law and equity, far inferior to the
 “ high and important trust and confidence reposed in their Re-
 “ presentatives in parliament. Why then should Candidates
 “ object to so just and equitable an obligation, if not too hard
 “ of digestion for delicate consciences, or repugnant and
 “ inconsistent with the terror of oaths taken in either past, pre-
 “ sent, or future places and employments, greedily sought after
 “ by them; but however palatable or otherwise such an obliga-
 “ tion may be to your Candidates, you have the remedy totally
 “ in your own power; and I will not be thought to urge to
 “ others, what I would not readily comply with myself in the
 “ like circumstances, and hope for your compliance with those
 “ hints which it is the general interest of all ecclesiastical and
 “ civil societies, to improve and establish against all arbitrary
 “ and mercenary measures whatsoever.”

J. C. A true Friend to the Constitution.

Oxford, Dec. 5, 1767.

The uniformity and steadiness of Sir James's conduct through
 the whole proceedings, leaves not the least room to doubt his
 candid and real intentions: he was, in consequence of the above
 general advice to the people, loaded with all possible scurrility
 and false reflections in the Oxford Journal, in which paper-war
 he came off eminently victorious with firmness, humour, good
 sense and applause; he afterwards, in his address to the freemen,
 assures them of having no intention to purchase them, or any
 part of their property, nor of selling them, &c. which he did
 by signing and swearing in open Court, in my presence and of
 many others, the above obligation; and on proposing to the
 other candidates to follow his example, was authentically an-
 swered, *That the Law did not require such a Restriction*; which
 evidently shews the necessity of such an act of parliament, but
 when or how to be obtained, the mercenary and depraved views
 of candidates on one side, and the insatiation, bribery, and cor-
 ruption of the constituents, on the other, must determine; when
 we see this single instance in parliamentary history, of so solemn
 and laudable a pledge of his disinterested performance of this
 trust, almost entirely abandoned in the end by a majority of vo-
 ters,

ters, whom he severally charged publicly with a breach of their repeated promises, and told them he did not expect success from the weight of power, and other undue measures taken against him, but that he then offered himself a candidate, in strict performance of his promise to support constitutional measures as long as the constituents would support him; and behaved with uncommon humour, mirth and steadiness during the whole election, though affected with the gout, and scarce able to stand, and quite unconcerned about the event, as not being a matter of any moment or emolument to him, further than the obligation conferred on the constituents, and pleasure to himself by representing them on those just conditions; and being neither dismayed nor afflicted thereby, has fixed his residence here, lives retired, affects no popularity, but continues his favour to the few who firmly adhered to him, does all the good he can for the poor, without distinction of party; and has procured provisions for them at his own expence for future time of scarcity and want.—This may seem a panegyrick intended for procuring public applause; but I solemnly declare, with concern, my having no personal acquaintance with Sir James Cotter, farther than by this public, unprecedented conduct, and should think myself happy, in having a recital of these, and many other transactions on this occasion from himself: those facts are notoriously public and true, which I relate in mere justice, and as a small reward for his merit under such disappointments, and to excite others to so noble and good an example, whom, tho' rejected by the people of Oxford, the public might have expected to have been earnestly invited and returned for other places—yet I have hopes, even in this degenerate and depraved time, that some uncorrupt, judicious set of men will, at least, make an experiment with him, and perhaps prove, in the consequence, the necessity of introducing this method of election, by the most solemn pledge of performance, in order to redress the manifold grievances of insupportable debts, declining liberty, commerce, venality, corruption, and oppression, under which this unhappy nation labours, and is distressed.—I hope you will think this genuine, candid account, tho' rather late, worthy of room in your next most useful Register, which, I hope, will please the majority of your just and impartial readers, and the rest I don't think material or worthy objects of public consideration, and you will thereby oblige many friends in this university and city, particularly, Sir, your

Oxford, May
26, 1768.

Constant reader and constitutional admirer,
T. V.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

*'Mongst these there was a politician,
With more heads than a beast in vision,
And more intrigues in every one,
Than all the whores of Babylon.*

HUD.

FAVOURITES have been considered, in all ages, with envy or derision; with envy, when truly meritorious; with derision, when only the objects of fancy. In which ever of these lights my lady's lap-dog may appear, it is as sure of being deemed a common enemy, as that it is a favourite. It is much the same with Poll Parrot, Pufs, Shugg, and all that generation of little enchanting animals, who win from the lady's affections, what is esteemed divisible among the captious household; as if a lady might not love whom she pleased, without asking their leave.

When great politicians fall in love, if the affection chances to light on one of their own sex, as in the common nature of love, he becomes blind; a magic circle is immediately drawn round him by the object; affected attraction draws the enamoured into, and fixes him in the center: and sympathy, like the power that gives the earth its diurnal rotation, keeps him perpetually whirling in that sphere, and so fixed, that to re-attract him again, from affection into even common discretion, requires a more potent charm, than men, but indifferently skilled in conjuration, are commonly aware.

When different sexes have been in question, some great exploits have been performed this way. The beautiful *Irene*, on this topic lost her head, in the presence of the whole divan; and I apprehend it not to be an uncommon circumstance, with less men than a Grand Signior, to part with their favourite mistresses on cruel terms. But when similarity of sex conjoins, and the influential power of affection takes place, it may as well be attempted to force a planet through its atmosphere, as the object whence affection springs, from the circle wherein magic fancy has fixt it. Yet human wisdom, or power, or conjuration, is so undeterminate, that we can't establish any sentiment on absolute certainty. *Tiberius* made an eruption, and *Sejanus* became the victim, and so did the fair lady regnant in this century here. *Tiberius* was supposed to rise upwards, and to superbound all bounds; and as to *Anne*, if the king of *Prussia* tells true, a pair of gloves, of I suppose some magical kind, endued her with the power of re-attraction; but whatever this counter-enchantment

might be, it freed her from the circle of affection, and favouritism shone no more during her reign.

It is very difficult, in all cases, to say, from what source favouritism springs, is moved into action, or operates to effect, as both fear and love are often attended with the like consequences : it takes place sometimes by the ear, sometimes by the eye, and is sometimes received at the aperture of the throat, like a gilded bolus ; and sometimes is the visible effect of a warm, wanton fancy-vision. Our James the First was remarkable this way ; a pun made a bishop, and a handsome person transposed a private gentleman into a duke.

When *Elizabeth* had favourites, as all women must have, she managed them well ; her's were of two kinds, the personal, and the political ; the one lost his head, and the other amassed, what might in that age be called an immense fortune : the one had, perhaps, beauty, but was indiscreet ; the other a surpassing discretion, and so correct a judgment, as to make the people love, and the prince admire his superior talents. *BRITAIN* never produced his equal ; every act for improving the revenue was rectitude ; he made the people great, the prince honourable, and scorned those little mean arts, by which more modern favourites, without skill or judgment, have plundered the people, by making them pay ill-considered taxes three times over, or being the means, through ignorance, of its happening so.

In the course of a few thousand years, various kinds of favourites have started to public view : the lowest I can recollect of one age was *Nero's Sporus* ; this wretch outwitted *Seneca*, and, from a state infinitely below the character of a common harlot, became dignified with the station of prime minister ; a glorious ruler, when half the world were Roman !

To speak of our own princes, antecedent to the reign of *Elizabeth*, what favourites they entertained, civil, or political, and how they conducted themselves towards such favourites, or such favourites towards their respective princes, is a kind of investigation, that claims more time and paper than I can at present spare ; as somewhat occurs of more importance to be at present considered, and what more immediately relates to my text.

There are a species of favourites of late years, that have sprung from quite another fountain, than any yet remembered, of a mixed, or mongrel breed, neither distinctly civil, nor political, but civilly political, or politically civil, with more cunning than wisdom, and more artifice than honesty, that clasp hold of our minds in a state of youth and
innocence,

innocence, and impress such strong marks of superior genius, mingled with terror, as become, in more ripened years, altogether indelible.

When a tutor of this kind gets a youth under his care, the principal part of his education tends to the influencing of his tender perception, in favour of the tutor's high wisdom and pre-eminence, and next, of his authority; and having once reduced him to this meanness, he remains his master for ever; that is to say, if the disposition of the youth be soft and delicate, let his natural understanding be otherways ever so good: various instances I have known, and from what country such tutors came; but as reflecting on any country from particular instances, is illiberal, I shall at present wave mentioning it. A prince so educated is no more guarded against the charm than a private gentleman; the human mind, alike fram'd and dispos'd, is liable to the same enchantment in all ranks and degrees of people; but it is not worth such a tutor's while to fascinate the mind of any but a man of fortune or significance; the brain of a poor boy is not worth cooking, nor his genial spirits of digesting into a state of debility.

A prince, consider'd in the simple, civil light of a man, and a gentleman, has no doubt a right, in common with other people, to favourise, and to sing, dance, talk, play, or pray, with whom he most approves it; but as a magistrate, at the head of a free people, who supply his treasury, and support his dignity, the favouritism should be equally considered on the part of the people; as I conceive it has never yet appeared, that *Cecil* here, or *Richelieu* in France, were personal favourites. The authority of both sprang from inherent merit; the princes were wise that employed them; both sovereigns had personal favourites, but the political were only entrusted with the care of the state, the honour of the Prince, and the happiness of the people. Princes who rule by their own power and wisdom, like *Prussia*, are too wise to have any favourites, civil or politic; as a favourite in fact means nothing more than a play thing, an idle toy for the diversion of leisure hours, not to be the director of grave and important subjects.

The state and dignity of a sovereign is so distinct from every other operative power in the community, that as he has not any natural equals, it is generally expected, that he should not create himself any; much less subject himself to an influence, that seems to make his authority divisible. When a prince plays on his favourite, the people smile; when the favourite plays on the prince, their countenances become more visibly risible, and terminates in what we usually call a horse-laugh; no man quarrels with *Prussia* for playing on

the flute ; but, absolute as that prince may be, if the instrument was to play on him, not only his loving subjects, but all nature would burst into an horse-laugh. However ridiculous any man may appear, that so reverses the common sense and reason of things, as to suffer an instrument, civil or political, to play upon him, yet instances of this kind have happened in all ages. *Shaftsbury*, at whom my motto is pointed, was one of these instruments. He first played on his masters, the commonwealth, and next on his sovereign ; who was so good-natured as to let him play all the game through : and then to convince him, that, when a prince pleased, he could reverse the objects, and that not all his heads, and intrigues, were a match for his master. So may it be again with any, who has more heads than a beast in vision : revelation may produce revolution, and a happy variation of objects make the people once more smile.

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

Of the Necessity of a new Place-Bill.

IT is an old and a just observation, that every production of-nature and of art must, some time or other, come to a period ; and that death is unavoidable to the political as well as to the animal body. Some governments, it is true, like some men, are more durable and longer lived than others ; owing either to the strength of their original constitution, or to the wisdom of those who are intrusted with the administration. But still it may be admitted a general maxim, that all governments, without exception, and free governments sooner than the rest, must finally perish. Have not Rome, and Athens, and Sparta perished ? And can England expect to be exempted from the fate, which has been the common lot of every other government. Many, it must be owned, and various are the dangers, which threaten the dissolution of our free constitution ; but of these, the great number of placemen in the house of commons, is by far the most alarming.

It is wisely remarked by the famous baron Montesquieu, that “ when the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the *same body of magistrates*, there can be no liberty ; because apprehensions may arise, lest the same monarch or *Senate* should enact tyrannical laws, to execute them in a tyrannical manner.” Now if it should appear, that, as the house of commons has been for some time constituted, the legislative and the executive power in this kingdom have been united in the *same body of magistrates*, or in the *same senate*, I shall leave every reader to draw the conclusion.

elusion. But first I must observe, that I take it for granted, that every place-man, whether in the army, the navy, or in any other department under the government, belongs to the executive power; a concession, which, I imagine, will not be refused me, as it is very well known, that all placemen are intended to assist the sovereign in carrying the laws into execution.

This point being settled, I would desire the reader to examine a list of the members of the late house of commons, and see whether there were not a majority of them place-men; and if not, whether that is not likely to be the case in some future house of commons; and when it is, I would beg leave to ask him, whether the legislative and executive powers will not then be united in *the same body of magistrates*, or in *the same senate*; and whether, according to the opinion of Montesquieu, our liberties will not thereby be entirely destroyed?

Our forefathers were so sensible of the danger arising from this quarter, that they passed one, if not two place-bills, incapacitating the officers of the customs, the excise, the post and stamp offices; in a word, every one in the least concerned with the collection of the taxes, from being chosen members of parliament, or interfering by any means in the choice of members of parliament. These place-bills were perhaps sufficient then; but they are not sufficient now. The government is every day becoming more complex, more expensive, more full of places, and these places more lucrative and advantageous: so that I would affirm, that there is a growing necessity for successive place-bills; and that, if such successive place-bills should not take effect, the constitution must be ruined by the very course of things, even though the ministers should never be guilty of one arbitrary act, or encroachment upon our liberties. For let us only suppose, what cannot be denied, that the places under the government are daily growing more numerous, and that no successive place-bills are passed, what must be the consequence? must it not follow, that a majority of placemen must at last get into the house; and, if that once happen, our liberties, it is manifest, are irretrievably ruined.

How often it is necessary to pass such place-bills, and how comprehensive they should be, when passed, I will not now take upon me to determine: though, I think, there is one infallible criterion for discovering the former circumstance; and it is this, that when it appears, that near one half the members of the house of commons are place-men, the necessity is evident, the danger alarming, and the remedy, if neglected, may come too late.

For

For the POLITICAL REGISTER.

“ **A**PPRENS à te connoître, & descens en toi-même :
 “ On t’honore dans Rome, on te courtise, on t’aime :
 “ Chacun tremble sous toi ; chacun t’offre des vœux ;
 “ Ta fortune est bien haut ; tu peux ce que tu veux.
 “ Mais tu ferois pitié, même à ceux qu’elle irrite,
 “ Si je t’abandonnois à ton peu de mérite.
 “ Ose me démentir, dis-moi ce que tu vaux,
 “ Conte-moi tes vertus, tes glorieux travaux,
 “ Les rares qualités par où tu m’as dû plaire,
 “ Et tout ce qui t’élève au dessus du vulgaire.
 “ Ma *faveur* fait ta gloire, & ton pouvoir en vient,
 “ Elle seule t’élève, & seule te soutient ;
 “ C’est elle qu’on adore, & non pas ta personne,
 “ Tu n’as crédit, ni rang, qu’autant qu’elle t’en donne ;
 “ Et pour te faire choir, je n’aurois aujourd’hui
 “ Qu’à retirer la main, qui seule est ton appui.
 “ J’aime mieux toutefois céder à ton envie,
 “ Règne, si tu le peux, au dépens de ma vie.
 “ Mais oses-tu penser que les *Serviliens*,
 “ Les *Cosses*, les *Metels*, les *Pauls*, les *Fabiens*,
 “ Et tant d’autres enfin, de qui les grands courages
 “ Des héros de leur sang font les vives images,
 “ Quittent le noble orgueil d’un sang si généreux,
 “ Jusqu’à pouvoir souffrir que tu régnes sur eux ?”

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW

of NEW BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, &c.

The Narrative of the Honourable John Byron, (Commodore in a late Expedition round the World) containing an Account of the great Distresses suffered by himself and his Companions on the Coast of Patagonia from the Year 1740, till their Arrival in England, 1746. With a Description of St. Jago de Chili, and the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants. Also a Relation of the Loss of the Wager Man of War, one of Admiral Anson's Squadron, written by himself, now first published. Octavo, 5s. Baker.

IT is well known, that, upon the loss of the *Wager*-sloop, the crew mutinied. Part of them seized the long boat, and returned through the streights of Magellan. Part of them

them adhered to captain Cheap, and made their way over land to the capital of Chili. The adventures of the former party have already been related by Mr. Bulkeley. The adventures of the latter form the substance of this narrative, which is wrote in a very plain and sensible manner; and may justly be considered as a very valuable supplement to Anson's voyage.

Considerations on the present State of the Controversy between the Protestants and Papists of Great-Britain and Ireland; particularly on the Question, how far the Latter are entitled to a Toleration upon Protestant Principles, &c. by Francis Blackburne, M. A. Archdeacon of Cleveland. 5s. Millar.

THIS is one of the most full and impartial accounts of the present state of popery in these kingdoms, that has yet been offered to the public.

An Essay on the First Principles of Government; and on the Nature of Political, Civil, and religious Liberty, by Joseph Priestly, L. L. D. F. R. S. 3s. Doddsley.

A Considerable part of this work is only a republication of some remarks, or at least of the substance of some remarks, which Dr. Priestly formerly wrote on *Dr. Brown's Proposal for a Code of Education*; and in which he has abundantly refuted all the positions of that whimsical but ingenious writer. Nor is Dr. Priestly himself without his whims. For instance, he says, p. 8. "that whatever was the beginning of this world, the end will be glorious and paradisaical, beyond what our imaginations can now conceive." But whatever may be his merit in other respects, he is a warm friend to the natural rights and liberties of mankind. He makes no scruple to approve of the execution of king Charles the first. And in p. 24, he says, "that if the abuses of government should, at any time, be great and manifest; if the servants of the people, forgetting their masters, and their master's interest, should pursue a separate one of their own; if, instead of considering that they are made for the people, they should consider the people as made for them; if the oppressions and violations of right should be great, flagrant, and universally resented; if the tyrannical governors should have no friends but a few sycophants, who had long preyed on the vitals of their fellow-citizens, and who might be expected to desert a government, whenever their interests should be detached from it: if, in consequence of these circumstances, it should become manifest, that the risk, which would be run in attempting a revolution,

“ revolution, would be trifling, and the evils which might
 “ be apprehended from it, were far less than these which
 “ were actually suffered, and which were daily increasing;
 “ in the name of God, I ask, what principles are those,
 “ which ought to restrain an injured and insulted people from
 “ asserting their natural rights, and from changing, or even
 “ punishing, *their governors, that is their servants, who had*
 “ abused their trust; or from altering the whole form of
 “ their government, if it appeared to be of a structure so
 “ liable to abuse?”

A Defence of the Administration from the Charges brought against them in a Pamphlet entitled, the Case of the Duke of Portland, &c. 8vo. 1s. Bladon.

Arch and ironical.

A Reply to a pamphlet entitled, The Case of the Duke of Portland, 8vo. 1s, Kearsly, &c.

A Number of letters, originally published in the Daily Gazetteer, are here collected together and republished in the form of a pamphlet. They certainly did not deserve this mode of republication, nor the title that is here given them; being no more a reply to the *facts* in the duke of Portland's case, than the abundance of other letters in the public papers, which with equal contempt the public have seen thrown out by the violent advocates for prerogative.

A Letter to the Right Hon. Thomas Harley, Esq. Lord Mayor of the City of London. To which is added a serious Exposition with the Livery on their late Conduct towards John Wilkes, Esq. during the election of City Members. By an of London, 8vo. 1s. Bingley.

SEVERELY arraigns the conduct of the lord-mayor during the late election, and answers all the idle objections, which were thrown out by his lordship; and the favourite's friends, (for they are the same) against Mr. Wilkes's being a proper candidate to represent the city of London.

Observations on the Religion, Law, Government, and Manners of the Turks. Small 8vo. 2 vols. 4s. Nourse.

THOUGH the author of this performance (commonly supposed to be Sir James Potter) discovers not, in his remarks, any great acuteness or penetration, yet does he take notice of several curious particulars; and, as he resided so long at the Ottoman court, the reader may safely rely upon the authenticity of the facts he mentions.

The POLITICAL BAROMETER:

*The following Papers being authentic, are worth
Preservation.*

*To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of
MIDDLESEX.*

GENTLEMEN,

IN support of the Liberties of this country against the arbitrary rule of ministers, I was before committed to the *Tower*, and am now sentenced to this *Prison*. Steadiness with, I hope, strength of mind, do not however leave me; for the same consolation follows me here, the consciousness of innocence, of having done my duty, and exerted all my poor abilities, not unsuccessfully, for this nation. I can submit even to far greater sufferings with cheerfulness, because I see that my countrymen reap the happy fruits of my labours and cruel persecutions, by the repeated decisions of our sovereign courts of justice in favour of Liberty: I therefore bear up with fortitude, and even glory that I am call'd to suffer in this cause, because I continue to find the noblest reward, the applause of my native country, of this great, free, and spirited people.

I chiefly regret, Gentlemen, that this confinement deprives me of the honour of thanking you in person according to my promise, and at present takes from me in a great degree the power of being useful to you. The will however to do every service to my constituents remains in its full force, and when my sufferings have a period, the first day I regain my liberty shall restore a life of zeal in the cause and interests of the county of Middlesex.

In this *prison*, in any other, in every place, my ruling passion will be the love of England and our free constitution. To those objects I will make every sacrifice. Under all the oppressions, which ministerial rage and revenge can invent, my steady purpose is to concert with you, and other true friends of this country, the most probable means of rooting out the remains of arbitrary power, and star-chamber inquisition, and of improving as well as securing the generous plans of Freedom, which were the boast of our ancestors, and I trust will remain the noblest inheritance of our posterity, the only genuine characteristic of Englishmen.

I have the honour to be, with affection and regard,

GENTLEMEN,

your obliged and faithful humble Servant,

JOHN WILKES.

King's-Bench Prison,
Thursday, May 5, 1768.

G g g

From

From the St. James's Chronicle.

To the Printer.

AMong the various discoveries made of late, not the least wonderful, is that of G. T. in your last Chronicle. He is very angry with Mr. Wilkes, for having asserted before the court of King's Bench, that *no one instance of falsehood has yet been pointed out in that pretended Libel*, speaking of the North Briton, No. 45. and says, *he will take the liberty of pointing out one [falshood] which he thinks ALL mankind must acknowledge*. The passage he quotes is, *No advantage of any kind accrued to the king of Prussia from our negociation with France*. Now, Sir, I agree entirely with Mr. Wilkes, and I will state my reasons to you, why I cannot think ANY part of mankind will acknowledge the falshood of that assertion in No. 45, because it happens to be exactly true.

Before I consider G. T.'s reasons, I will premise that this discovery is quite new. It escaped the sagacity of our present great Financier, lord North, who could not find one word *false* in that whole paper, although he was challenged to it in express words by Mr. Wilkes, in the House of Commons, when his lordship almost choaked himself, as well as stunned his audience on the first day of the session, in 1763. I was present, I saw him foam at the mouth, and heard him guggle in the throat, that I thought he would have been strangled; but, after all his efforts, not a word could he get out about the proof of a single *falsehood* in any part of that paper, although his lordship moved that it was a *false, scandalous, seditious libel*, &c. If there was any *falsehood* in it, do not you suppose, Sir, the word *false*, formerly thought so necessary to make any thing a *libel*, would have found its place in an information against Mr. Wilkes, to be tried before lord Mansfield? Do you not believe, Sir, that if the shadow of a proof only could have been had *but the night before the trial came on*, his lordship would as readily have consented to add the word *false* to the *record*, as he compelled the alteration of the word *purport* for that of the *tenor*? I fancy no more difficulty would have been experienced in the one case, than was in the other.

Now, Sir, I follow G. T. He adds, "All the world knows, that our king, by that negociation took the whole French army off the king of Prussia's hands. Is it no advantage to be rid of 50 or 60000 enemies? The man must be void either of sense or shame, who will deny it to be one." *Taking an army off a man's hands*, is a strange expression; but
if

if this writer must have his own phrase, *the French army was taken off the king of Prussia's hands*, so as no longer to be dreaded, a good while before this. Repeated victories of their enemies had ruined their best troops, and they were evacuating Germany as fast as they could. I desire G. T. to recollect how very few acres and villages in the whole empire, were at that period in the possession of the French army, which then certainly amounted to little more than 30000 men. They were no longer in a capacity of acting on the offensive, and began actually to retreat with the utmost expedition, before the last negotiation with France. The king of Prussia was every where victorious. His valour and conduct, with a variety of lucky events, had entirely re-established his affairs, and put him in so fortunate a condition, that he dictated himself the terms of the peace he made. It is so far from being true, that *any advantage accrued to the king of Prussia from our negotiation with France*, that it was a real *disadvantage* to him, for the French knew the negotiation of the peace was in the hands of lord Bute, and that so far from supporting our great Protestant Ally, his lordship was determined to abandon him. The king of Prussia complained, that he was actually betrayed by the Scottish minister, and he spoke publickly of the offers made by his lordship before this to the late czar, for dismembering his dominions.

I heard lord Bute declare in a great assembly, *that the dominions of the king of Prussia were to be scrambled for*; the most indecent, vulgar, and infamous expression for an ally of the crown of England, which any minister ever uttered.

It may be added, Sir, to all these facts, that the passage G. T. ventures to call a *falsehood*, is not even objected to in the information filed in the King's-Bench. Would no notice have been taken of it, were it such a *falsehood as all mankind must acknowledge*?

I suspect G. T. to be one of the many scriblers in the Papers, who are paid by lord Bute, for he quotes *false* to avoid a compliment to the king of Prussia. In No. 45. it is, *no advantage of any kind has accrued to that* MAGNANIMOUS PRINCE, &c.

Now, Sir, I will ask you, if G. T. has either *sense* or *shame*? If he will try his hand at any other passage in No. 45, I promise him the same success, as I believe you find he has had on the present occasion.

Monday, May 2.

A. B.

WAS Mr. W——s educated as a member of the church of England, or a dissenter?

G g g 2

Answer

Answer. The father of Mr. W——s was a churchman : the mother is a dissenter. The tutor of Mr. W——s was a presbyterian parson : Mr. W——s came very early into life, and married a presbyterian lady. He sometimes went to meeting in town with her ; but at Aylesbury, for many years, he went to church regularly twice on Sundays, and generally received the sacrament there, which he never did in any dissenting congregation. He subscribed, however, for many years 12 guineas a year to a fund for supporting the civil and religious rights of the dissenters ; at the head of which was the late Dr. Benjamin Avery, a gentleman of the most respectable character.

2. Has he continued in the profession of the religion he was educated in ? or has he declared himself otherwise ?

Answer. He has continued a member of the church of England, and has declared himself so on many occasions, and never otherwise. He goes sometimes to church, and receives the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, he both abroad and at home avowed himself a member of that best reformed protestant establishment of his own country, but in opinion for a full toleration of all the sectaries. He was for two years church-warden of the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, and always regularly attended his parish church.

3. What place of worship did Mr. W——s commonly frequent during his four years residence in France ?

Answer. He went almost every Sunday with his daughter to the ambassador's chapel, where the service of the church of England is performed. His daughter has been educated by himself, and is of the church of England. She has never been in a Nunnery, where most of the English ladies educated in France, are sent.

4. Did Mr. W——s ever in that time address the *grand monarch* in terms *so full of duty and respect to his person*, as the author of the North Briton, No. 45, has done his *Britannic majesty* ?

Answer. He never did address the *grand monarch* in any terms whatever.

5. How could this prodigy of liberty breathe so long in the land of slavery, without one of his explosions in favour of freedom, such as we experience here at every trip he makes to visit us ?

Answer. Mr. W——s from Paris fully stated his political conduct to his electors of Aylesbury, defended in various anonymous papers the cause of liberty, and his *history of England* will soon prove how usefully he has been employed.

6. What number of persons does his committee consist of, and who are they ?

Answer.

Answer. This is a most impudent question from a man who does not put his own name.

7. Would it not become the dignity of that respectable body, who have taken upon them the important office of conservators of the peace, to publish their names and places of abode? that the public may know where to apply for the preservation of *there* (their) persons from injury, and their houses from being pulled about their ears, whenever their obsequious mobs are put in motion.

Answer. The gentlemen are well known, and known to be gentlemen of worth and honour, but their motto is *pre-desse quam conspici*, *More useful than conspicuous*.

YOUR correspondent of April 23, who dates his letter from Kent, and signs it *Common Sense*, would have done well to have given a little more attention to what he read before he made a charge of a *palpable contradiction* on the most consistent man of this age. He says, " Mr. Wilkes, in his address to his electors, calls the last parliament a slavish and venal parliament : the last parliament, by his own confession at Westminster last Wednesday, and the confession of all his friends, freed the nation from General Warrants, contrary to the supposed intention of the Favourite and his associates. How then can they deserve that severe censure? An explanation of this palpable contradiction is desired." Now, Sir, in Mr. Wilkes's speech to the court of King's-Bench at Westminster there is not a single word about the *last parliament*. He speaks only of the *court of King's-Bench* having, on a solemn appeal, declared that *General Warrants* were illegal. I call on your correspondent to quote one word which can bear any allusion to the *last parliament* in what he says is Mr. Wilkes's *confession*, although I think no speech ever less merited that name. I have heard it often called a full *justification* of himself, a strong *accusation* of lord Mansfield, but never heard it termed a *confession*, which seems to imply some degree of guilt, whereas Mr. Wilkes does not acknowledge any.

A. B.

From the Public Advertiser.

To the Printer.

THE famous No. 45. being now triumphant, and every objection to it having been fully answered, your correspondent K. P. in Wednesday's paper begins to attack Mr. Wilkes about a parcel of idle verses. He gives himself, however, no other trouble than to transcribe the words of the information,

information, which are notoriously false. He talks of J. W. "most wickedly devising, intending, and endeavouring to vitiate and corrupt the minds and morals of his majesty's subjects, and to introduce and diffuse among the people of this realm a general debauchery and depravity of manners, and a total contempt of religion, modesty, and virtue." Now Mr. Woodfall, it is scarcely possible to imagine a more unjust or lying charge than this; for it is confessed on all hands, that so far from desiring to have those verses published, Mr. Wilkes took all the pains he could to conceal them. He locked them up in his bureau, and no copy was given to any man. If it was *indiscreet* to print those verses, it was on the other hand very *discreet* to lock them up; so that I am puzzled whether I ought to blame or commend him on that head. But, Sir, it is particular that just the same charge was brought against Algernon Sydney, for *endeavouring to introduce and diffuse among the people of this realm notions of a commonwealth* by his book, entitled *Discourses on Government*, which he dispersed—all over his closet. K. P. goes on to quote that it was "to the great offence of society, and the wicked corruption of the minds and morals of his majesty's subjects;" whereas the fact is, that the poem has never appeared yet, but in the House of Lords, and before the court of King's-Bench. I would ask K. P. if he believes Mr. Wilkes brought it to either of those places.

A. B.

From the Gazetteer.

To the Printer.

I Heard a *Man* — declare, with peculiar complacence and satisfaction, that if Mr. Wilkes was imprisoned for life, it was only a judgment which he had brought upon himself.

I heard a gentleman answer him:—All punishments inflicted by the laws, are judgments which the criminals bring upon themselves; for no man is supposed to be punished unjustly. But still there is, or should be, a proportion always observed between the crime and the punishment. And if Mr. Wilkes, on the score of his outlawry, is to be perpetually imprisoned;—if this is law, why then it may happen that a person who has committed an offence, which might subject him to a fine of ten pounds---I say ten pounds, though it might be only ten shillings.---If such a person, either through sickness, through ignorance, or obstinacy, shall suffer an Outlawry against him to take place, however he may afterwards be cured of his sickness, mistake, or obstinacy, and surrender himself into the hands of justice, will yet have

no

no remedy, but will be liable to forfeit his estate of ten thousand a year, and suffer perpetual imprisonment, for an offence whose fine was ten pound. I humbly conceive, in this case, there would be no proportion between the crime and the punishment; and that therefore the offender could not be said to have brought this judgment on himself. The *Man*—neither replied, nor blushed. No one wondered that he did not reply. All, but those who knew him well, were surprised he did not blush.

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

X. X.

A C A R D.

MR. Smith, of Gray's-Inn, presents his compliments to John Wilkes, Esq; and begs he will be pleased to inform him and the public, whether Mr. Wilkes did not some years since offer his service to lord B—, if he would procure him the government of Quebec.

The A N S W E R.

A FRIEND TO TRUTH presents his compliments to Mr. Smith, of Gray's-Inn. He has seen the card to John Wilkes, Esq; in Tuesday's gazetteer. Mr. Smith desires to know, "Whether Mr. Wilkes did not, some years since, offer his service to lord B—, if he would procure him the government of Quebec?"

Mr. Smith may be assured that Mr. Wilkes never did, directly or indirectly, offer his service to lord B—, whom he always believed to be an enemy to the freedom of the subject. He never even had any negotiation of any kind with lord B—; and the single time he ever had the thought of seeing his lordship, was when Mr. Wilkes was colonel of the Bucks militia, and lord B— secretary of state. He then attended once at Whitehall, as colonel, to have spoken to his lordship as secretary of state. After two hours attendance, the secretary not coming, Mr. Wilkes went away, and has never since seen lord B— but in public, nor made an application of any kind to him.

As to the government of Quebec, or rather Canada, as it was then intended, Mr. Wilkes had declared very publicly, that his ambition was to have gone there the first governor, to have reconciled the new subjects to the English, and to have shewn the French the advantages of the mild rule of laws over that of lawless power and despotism; but he never did apply for this, or any thing else, to lord B—.

IT

IT has been asserted, that Mr. Wilkes was in negotiation for his pardon with the ministers: we have authority from himself to declare, that the assertion is absolutely false, and that he only said to two or three of their friends, he was always ready to take any dutiful, humble, or submissive measure with respect to the king, which should be hinted to him was agreeable, but would never make an application for his pardon to any present or future minister: that such was his resolution and declaration in the first stage of the late business, had been in the subsequent, and should be uniform to the last period of it. It remains to be seen, whether Mr. Wilkes will act up to this declaration, which he actually made.

WHEN Mr. W. was about a month ago at the Bedford Coffee-house, in a private room with several of his friends, they rallied him about the end of all his patriotic schemes, and said that he would sink into an insignificant peer, be extinguished as Pulteney and P— had been; and go out in a stink.—Mr. W. seemed rather hurt by the suspicion, and told them, *Well, gentlemen, I see that you are political infidels, but I will give you faith at last; and be assured, when I see those two fellows always hanging in chains before my eyes, I can never consent to be gibbeted to all eternity.*

From the St. James's Chronicle.

To the Printer.

May 19.

I Have read in your paper of yesterday, the letter signed a *Woman's Man*. The letter perfectly answers that trifling appellation, which the sensible part of the other sex is the first to ridicule; except only, that he is rude to the fair Leonora; for as to Mr. Wilkes, his character is too manly to be in any way relished by such fribbles and coxcombs, as are called *Women's Men*. I am sure that Mr. Wilkes will only laugh at him; but I have the leisure, he has not, to converse even with this *Woman's Man*, and I will set him right in several particulars.

He says, that Mr. W. *ridicules and abuses all womankind* in a certain poem. Had that poem ever been published, he would, on the contrary, have seen that it is the *apotheosis* of the fair sex. I beg a *Woman's Man's* pardon for such a long Greek word. Mr. W. loves the dear creatures but too well, and has given them more of his time than he ought to have done. He has too long been lulled in the lap of pleasure,
but

but he is now a publick man, and, I trust, his whole soul is devoted to his Country, and the great pursuits of Liberty and the Constitution of England. I will only say farther, that there is not in the whole poem, to which he alludes, a single line in disparagement of the amiable part of the creation, but some hundreds in its praise, as I have been assured by a Gentleman, who once heard it read.

He is very angry, that Mr. Wilkes "took shelter among the hereditary Enemies of his Country, in a land hostile to Britain, baneful to the name of Liberty—ranks peaceably and quietly among slaves, a true friend of liberty would have sought the highest mountain in Switzerland, rather than breathe four years in the contagious atmosphere of Egyptian bondage."—Now, Sir, I think Mr. Wilkes was very wise to chuse Paris for his residence. He could see there more Gentlemen of his own Country, than in any part of the World out of his Majesty's dominions. He could more easily, as well as expeditiously, correspond with his friends at home, and was almost at hand to assist them. The great object of all his hopes, an honourable return to his native country, was likewise easier from France, and less likely to be delayed from his being so near to watch the frequent political changes in this kingdom. Another reason too I believe weighed much with him. Whatever has any relation to France, must be an object of attention and enquiry to every man of this country; I had almost said to every individual of every state in Europe. From its situation, England must necessarily have more frequent and serious quarrels with France than with any power on the continent; but the ambition, joined to the overgrown power of the Bourbon line, has made the alarm universal, and almost every state regards with a fearful and anxious eye the *family compact*. France is therefore the second object of an Englishman's Study. There are now, Sir, but two great nations in Europe, who almost decide the fate of all the rest, at least as to peace and war. I mean the English and French. Recollect, Sir, what passed after the peaces of Utrecht and Paris. As soon as our guineas and the French louis d'ors remained at home, the rest of Europe found they had not the very nerves of war, and a general peace of course ensued, because England and France willed it. He therefore perhaps thought it the duty of a good Englishman to study minutely the state of France, in order the more effectually to distress her, and to keep in due bounds the only power we have to fear. She is our natural enemy, and must ever remain so while there are *littora littoribus contraria*. It were to be wished, that more of our countrymen would make themselves masters of every particular relative to the strength,

the resources, the police, the government of France. It is an humiliating circumstance that *their* ministers should be so perfectly acquainted with every thing relative to us, should be so well informed as to make the most of every untoward accident against this kingdom, while *our own* ministers remain in such gross ignorance as to their internal state, that we have not for several years reaped the least advantage of their many civil broils and universal discontent. Our ministers are shamefully ignorant themselves, and love to see their creatures have nothing to reproach them with on that head. Mr. Wilkes seems in this, as well as in every thing else, to have pursued a quite contrary course to that of the ministers, and to have studied how to wound an enemy, whom they have been trying to recover, and re-establish in full vigour.

Now, Sir, I will take this opportunity to a *woman's man* of saying a word or two of Mr. W's wife. I have heard some of his friends remark that she is perhaps the woman in the world the most unfit for him, and the only one to whom he would not have been even an *uxorious* husband, for he loves a domestic life, but

*Sic visum Veneri, cui placet impares
Formas atque animas sub juga abenea
Sævo mittere cum joco.*

She was certainly a large fortune, but unhappily half as old again as Mr. W. when he married her. I have often dined with them together in town and country. He was admired as an extremely civil and complaisant husband, rather cold, but exactly well-bred, and set an example of polite and obliging behaviour in his family, which many of those who find fault with him, would do well to imitate. Her reputation is unspotted, and she still possesses Mr. Wilkes's esteem, though I believe no great share of his tenderness.

I am, &c.

S I R,

King's Bench Prison, Friday, April 29.

THE *Writs of Error*, in the case of my *Out-lawry*, being now allowed, I desire you to examine carefully into the state of the proceedings, in the action I brought five years ago, against Lord Halifax, for having dared to issue a *General Warrant*. I think that action was suspended solely by his Lordship's plea, that I was *out-lawed*. I hope to live to hear an English Jury, by a formal verdict, condemn a Secretary of State, who violated the first right of this free nation, the personal liberty of our countrymen, in the most outrageous and illegal manner. I therefore beg you to lose no time in laying before my Counsel every thing proper for the prosecution of this public cause, which no consideration shall make me decline or delay.

I thank

I thank you, Sir, for the daily proofs you give me of activity and zeal in the course of this great business, and desire you to believe me ever

Your obliged humble Servant,
JOHN WILKES.

To Mr. REYNOLDS,
Attorney at Law, Lime-street.

A short Narrative of the Massacre in St. George's Fields, on the 10th of May, 1768.

ON Tuesday the 10th of May, the day that the new parliament met, a notion prevailed among some of the lower people, that Mr. Wilkes would be permitted to go to Westminster to take his seat in parliament, as knight of the shire for the County of Middlesex, and about 300 people assembled, in a peaceable manner, near the King's Bench prison, with certainly no other motive than an expectation of seeing him go. Fewer persons were assembled that day in St. George's Fields than had been on any preceding, since Mr. Wilkes *escaped to the prison* there. No accident had happened from the beginning, notwithstanding the troops had been there some days. About ten o'clock the troops which had been sent there the day before, were relieved by a detachment from the Scots or third Regiment of Foot-Guards, which is under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester. The detachment was commanded by the Honourable Lieut. Col. Charles Beauclerk. Till the time that these troops came to the prison, there was not the least appearance of any riot or disturbance. It is true that the people *buzza'd* and cried out *Wilkes and Liberty*, as often as they could distinguish him moving in his room. That was all the offence they then gave. The troops, as they marched under the prison-wall next the fields, were in a few minutes followed by four or five justices of the peace, and in about a quarter of an hour, or less, those Gentlemen read the Riot-Act. What gave occasion to this extraordinary step, this last resort, as it ought to be, when all pacific and persuasive means, and when even the civil power had all been exerted in vain, is yet *a mystery*. Persons of credit and veracity, who were spectators, did not at that time discover any outrage committed by the people. Before the proclamation was read, the Scottish soldiers, with their bayonets fixed, began to strike and wound the people in the most cruel and wanton manner: the people in return hissed and hooted. The proclamation was afterwards read. The Scottish soldiers, now provoked and impatient of revenge, marked some of the people, particularly one in a red waistcoat who had *huzza'd* Wilkes and Liberty, and three or four of them quitted their post, which was close to the prison-wall, and ran through the mob after the persons whom they had marked, quite across the field to the road, and one man, not in the mob, as he was stooping under the rail which divides the field from the road, to get out of the assassin's way, was stabbed in the back by the soldier's bayonet, which penetrated a considerable way under the blade-bone of his shoulder. The soldier, disregarding this, continued his chase, assisted by his comrades, down

the road and into the borough of Southwark. What was done there being a matter of judicial enquiry, we shall only mention that Mr. William Allen, junior, being at work in a cowhouse contiguous to the Horse-shoe, his father's house, and dressed in a red waistcoat, was seen by the soldiers, one of whom fired and shot him through the breast. The unfortunate young man presently expired. A melancholy proof of the danger and folly of wantonly employing the military power.

When it was known that this young man was killed, the people assembled in greater numbers round the prison. More soldiers were sent for. Reinforcements of horse and foot arrived. The people were fired at, and rode over, without the least regard to age, or sex. The field near the prison, might be compared to a field of battle. Several were killed, and many were wounded. Next day the capital itself seemed entirely under military government, and rather the residence of the military monarch of Prussia, than of the peaceful sovereign of England. The troops patrolled the streets, the people were in many places insulted, and every thing wore the face of tyranny, cruelty, and vengeance.

We now come to the verdicts found by the Coroner's Juries. On the 11th. the inquest sat on the body of young Mr. Allen, and brought in their verdict *wilful murder*, against *Donald MacLane*, *Donald Mac Laury*, and *Alexander Murray*, Esq; the two first were committed to the new prison, but the officer absconded, upon which the following warrant was issued for the apprehending him.

SURRY, } *To the Constables of the Parish of St. Mary New-*
To wit. } *ington, in the said County, and to all Officers of*
Peace whom it shall or may concern.

WHEREAS Alex. Murray, Esq; of the Third Regiment of Foot Guards, stands accused before me, upon an Inquisition this day taken at the Parish of St. Mary Newington, in the said County, with the Wilful Murder of William Allen the Younger;

These are therefore in his Majesty's Name, to apprehend and bring before me, or some of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County, the Body of the said Alexander Murray to answer the Premises, and be further dealt with according to Law, and for so doing, This shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given under my Hand and Seal this 11th. Day of May,
in the Year of our Lord 1768.

HENRY ACTON, Coroner.

Two inquisitions were taken in the Borough, on persons killed by the Soldiers in quelling the riot in St. George's fields. The first was at the parish of St. Saviour, on the body of Mary the wife of William Jeffs. It appeared that last Tuesday, about eleven in the forenoon, the deceased and her daughter were attending close to the Hay-market in St. George's-fields, having a double-handed basket with oranges, in order to sell them; that about two that afternoon they heard that the Soldiers were going to fire, upon which they and several other persons were removing to avoid the danger, and as the deceased and her daughter were carrying away the basket between them, some of the Soldiers fired, and the deceased fell down directly, and when taken up, said, she was only frightened, but not hurt; that she became soon after speechless,

was

was let blood immediately, and then carried to St. Thomas's hospital, where she expired in about an hour after the firing. On her being undressed at the hospital, a large gun-shot wound was discovered a little below her navel, which she received about two hours after the proclamation had been read. The jury brought in their verdict, that she was accidentally, and by misfortune, killed by a Soldier unknown, in endeavouring to suppress the rioters.

The second inquisition was taken in the parish of St. George the Martyr, on the body of William Bridgman. It appeared by the evidence, that several constables, by the order of Daniel Ponton and John Levy, Esqrs. two of his Majesty's justices for Surry, attended last Tuesday about noon, at the King's-bench prison, for the preservation of the public peace, and that the said Mr. Ponton and John Middlemarsh, Richard Capel, and John Thomas, Esqrs. three other justices for Surry, were there also present : that there was a great concourse of people, to the amount of several hundreds, assembled in the fields about the prison, but that there was then no disturbance ; that presently a company of foot-guards advanced towards the prison, and planted themselves with their backs to it, and faced the populace ; that on one of the constables going down by the brick wall of the prison, Mr. Ponton desired him to keep near the wall, because he wanted a paper to be taken down that was fixed to it, and one of the constables took it down, the populace thereupon cried out, give us the paper, and immediately began to throw stones, some of which hit the justices and some of the constables ; and they continued throwing stones during the time the justices were passing to the Marshal's house, the mob again cried out, give us the paper ; that the justices then went through the house, and out of the back door ; that a drum beat to arms, and the justices with the Soldiers, came from behind the house, and Mr. Ponton and Samuel Guillam, Esq; another justice for Surry, being together, desired the populace to disperse ; but instead thereof, they threw more stones, some of which struck the justices ; that Mr. Guillam then read the proclamation in the riot act, and whilst he was reading, several stones were thrown, one of which hit him on the arm, another struck Mr. Ponton, and a third hit one of the serjeants upon the lip, and cut it through. That the justices and soldiers then marched to the field gate, halted, and faced about to the right ; and on a military officer's coming up to Mr. Ponton, informing him, that a great number of people were behaving in a very riotous manner, and asking whether the soldiers should fire ? Mr. Ponton said no, by no means ; that it was a thoroughfare, and innocent people passing and repassing might receive hurt ; for that the King's bench prison was the object of their care ; and the soldiers thereupon desisted from firing.---That in about an hour and a quarter afterwards, Mr. Guillam read the proclamation again, and earnestly requested the populace to disperse ; and about three o'clock went to the road side, and desired them to disperse ; telling them, that if he saw any more stones thrown he would immediately order the guards to fire ; upon which a stone was thrown and struck him upon the head, and made him stagger about two yards ; that in about half a minute afterwards, when he had recovered himself, he ordered the guards to fire, which they accordingly did, but at that time no person was observed to drop, and soon after the horse grenadiers fired their pistols.

Mrs. Elizabeth Egremont, the wife of a Surveyor, living in Westons-street, in St. Olave's parish, then appeared as an evidence, and swore, that on the 10th of May, a little before three in the afternoon, she was returning from Spring Gardens, Charing-cross, on foot, with one Mrs. Goodhine, and on their arrival at the Asylum in St. George's-fields, some horse guards passed by on full speed, upon which a gentleman, a stranger

stranger to both, came up to Mrs. Egremont, and offered her his service to conduct her and Mrs. Goodhine along the road, saying, it was dangerous walking on account of the croud, and the guards coming up. That instant Mrs. Egremont heard the discharge of fire arms, and afterwards, being about the middle of the New-Road, near the Windmill, and endeavouring to cross to avoid the next firing, she heard a second firing, and the gentleman with her, desired her to look across the road, whereupon she discovered a woman lying upon the ground, appearing to be wounded ; and at the same instant a ball passed under her left arm, the gentleman having his arm about her waist, in order to protect her : She then cried she should be killed, and he immediately said he was a dead man ; and she fainted away, and on coming to herself found she was bloody, but not wounded ; and she desired the people at the sign of the Windmill, a public house, to let her in, but they refused, alledging that they were in danger of losing their own lives, and could not open the door, but somebody handed a tumbler of water to her out of the window ; that being feeble, she went to the second hay cart in the market there, and sat upon one of the shafts, where she had not been above a minute, before there was another discharge of fire-arms, and the deceased William Bridgman being upon the hay in the same cart where she was sitting, said, they are firing away, on which the deceased directly dropped to the ground, saying, Lord Jesus Christ ! then in a low voice, my wife and children, and uttered some words, but not to be understood : the deceased then put his hand to his side, where he had received a shot, and a stranger unbuttoned his waistcoat, and said the man was shot with a ball ; that the people about him, as well as herself, on account of the danger, left him in a helpless condition, and seemingly in great pain ; and in about twenty minutes afterwards, he was carried along the road upon the shoulders of several men, when he seemed to be dead, and she heard he died soon after receiving his wound.

Mr. Lowdell, a surgeon in Blackman-street, deposed, that the deceased was brought to his house by a great number of people, he having received a gun-shot wound which passed through his left breast, broke one of his ribs, went through the breast, and made its exit through the right shoulder, and that he was well satisfied the wound was mortal, and the immediate occasion of his death.

The providence of God, in the preservation of Mrs. Egremont, is very signal ; but what is become of the gentleman who took her under his care, is not known : it has been reported that a wounded gentleman was drove, in a hackney coach, towards the city.

The Coroner, in his summing up the evidence to the Jury, observed, that every unhappy case of this kind was attended with its particular circumstances, which were to be the immediate subjects of their attention and enquiry ; that young Allen's case was in no manner to bias them, nor were they to regard any reports ; that they were to lay aside all popular resentment or prejudice, and to give a verdict according to the evidence, without any fear, favour, affection, hatred, or ill-will ; in doing which they would act consistent with their oaths, and discharge their consciences.

The Jury, after some time consulting, brought in their verdict Chance Medley, in which they confirmed the verdict of the Jury of St. Saviour's parish.

A third inquisition was taken at St. Thomas's-hospital, upon the like melancholy occasion, on the body of John Boddington, who was shot through the right thigh. It appeared by his own account he gave the sister of Abraham's ward, that on Tuesday last, as he was standing at the outside of the mob in St. George's fields, about forty or fifty yards from the rioters that were assembled, he received a shot in his right thigh ; that he was no ways encouraging the rioters ; and that he did not lay the

the charge of his death to any particular person. It appeared that William Bagnall, an acquaintance of the deceased, went on Tuesday morning, about ten o'clock, to view the rioters and soldiers, and in an hour's time was joined in company by the deceased; that in about an hour and a half afterwards the deceased received a shot, and cried out, he was shot, but did not say where, nor did Bagnall then know where; that the deceased fell, and Bagnall left him, that, during the time Bagnall and the deceased were there, they saw no misbehaviour in the mob; that some horse-grenadiers came up before the deceased was shot, and made up directly to the rails, and broke off from their ranks into separate parties; that there were two firings before the deceased was shot, but he saw no mischief done by them; and that the horse-grenadiers had not fired when the deceased fell, at which time there were several persons with Bagnall and the deceased; and that the deceased was shot by one of the foot-soldiers, a stranger to Bagnall.

Mr. Cowell examined the wound, which appeared to be occasioned by a very large ball, and took out several splinters; and, upon a consultation with other surgeons, it was thought proper to take off the deceased's right leg, and on Wednesday Mr. Cowell cut off the deceased's leg, and he died last Friday morning. The Jury brought in their verdict Chance Medley. We fear that several other persons have been killed or maimed through their rash curiosity. A woman, who was wounded, remains in the same hospital, under very little hopes of recovery.

Some others of the unfortunate persons fired upon by the soldiers were so miserably wounded, that they died in a few days at their habitations in London. The Coroners Inquests sat on their bodies, and brought their verdicts *wilful murder against persons unknown*.

The following extraordinary letter appeared in the papers on the 16th and 17th of May.

----- Office, May 11, 1768.

HAVING this day had the honour of mentioning to the-----the behaviour of the detachments from the several battalions of Foot Guards, which have been lately employed in assisting the Civil Magistrates and preserving the public peace, I have great pleasure in informing you, that his-----highly approves of the conduct of both the officers and men, and means that his-----approbation should be communicated to them through you. Employing the troops on so disagreeable a service always gives me pain, but the circumstances of the times makes it necessary. I am persuaded they see that necessity, and will continue, as they have done, to perform their duty with alacrity. I beg you will be pleased to assure them, that every possible regard shall be shewn to them; their zeal and good behaviour upon this occasion deserve it; and in case any disagreeable circumstance should happen in the execution of their duty, they shall have every defence and protection that the law can authorize, and this office can give. I have the honour to be, Sir

Your most obedient and most humble servant, B-----

To the field-officer, and staff in waiting for the three regiments of Guards.

On Monday May the 16th, the two soldiers charged by the Coroner's Jury, with the *wilful murder* of Mr. Allen, were brought before Lord Mansfield at Westminster, in order to be bailed, when M^r Laury was bailed, and MacLane re-committed. A motion was made that Alexander Murray, Esq; also charged by the Coroner's Jury with the *wilful murder* of Mr. Allen, and although he had not surrendered, nor was apprehended, yet he was admitted to bail. A motion was likewise made that John Wilkes, Esq; might be admitted to bail, *but that was refused*.

A monument is erecting in the church-yard of Newington Butte the memory of William Allen the younger, who was lately killed at St. George's-fields, on which the following inscription is

any lawyer, whether any of them act legally or constitutionally, and whether all concerned are not, in the eye of the law, equally murderers? I have stated under what circumstances alone the highest officer in the county can justify the killing a felon: Shall a justice, with impunity, exercise the same power, and that upon innocent persons, who might have been taken, and who are not pretended to have resisted? Shall war be made upon his majesty's subjects by the command of a peace-officer? I have been often led to reflect from whence could spring the modern practices of mayors and justices calling in military aid, before they have tried the constitutional relief; and from any thing I can find, if murder ensues, they are guilty, and ought to be tried as murderers. I know that the *present* regard for military power might procure thanks to such mayors and justices, and perhaps procure a pardon when they should be convicted; but may not the resentment of Englishmen become as violent as the Scotch, when they hung up Capt. Porteus, notwithstanding the queen's pardon, and may not an exercise of pardons produce restraints? By the laws of England a murderer could never be pardoned, 2 Inst. 316. In appeals of death, rape, robbery, &c. the king cannot pardon: And by the statute 14 E. III. S. 15. no pardon of the death of a man is to be granted, but where the king may do it consistent with his coronation oath. Therefore whoever suggests that the king will pardon, must deny the justice of the conviction, or suppose, what the law never will admit, that the king will deny justice, and obstruct its course. It was truly as well as wittily retorted by Killigrew upon king Charles, that he was guilty of the murder, which had been committed by a person, to whom he had before granted a pardon for the like crime: and should these murderers go uncensured, the metropolis will justly be charged with all the murders the military may commit, where they cannot be so properly opposed. It is the cry of innocent blood which calls for vengeance! It is our duty to God, to our country, and to the relations of the unhappy victims, to bring the perpetrators of this horrid deed to justice; or the office of justice of peace will become a military office, and we may be subjected by surprize into a military government.

From

From the Gazetteer.

May 18.

WHEN I said that we were not yet under a military government, I little thought how near we were to it. I little expected to see an *approbation given out in orders*, of the behaviour of the foot-guards, by which so many of the King's innocent, and unarmed subjects had been killed. Less still did I expect to see the *noble Secretary*, who communicated these orders, of so sanguinary a disposition as to acknowledge, "that he had great pleasure in informing them of this approbation." His lordship was born and educated a Presbyterian: his father was one of the chief pillars of that sect all his life: and the Secretary, I am bold to say, would not have been taken into employment, at the time he was, if he had not been understood and believed to be a *Whig*. But is the letter I refer to in your paper of yesterday, consistent with Whiggish principles! No: it is throughout diametrically opposite to them; except where he says, that "employing the troops on so disagreeable a service, always gives him pain." This sounds, indeed, a little whiggish; but he destroys the merits of it, by adding, in the next words, "that the circumstances of the times make it necessary." His Lordship must excuse me, who am not a Whig by name, and a Tory by employment, if I contradict him, and say, that the circumstances of the times did *not make it necessary*; that it was imprudent and unconstitutional to employ them on such a service, and seems, to sober-minded people, to have been something worse. But I shall examine this extraordinary letter of this ministerial Lord a little further. He desires the troops may be "assured, that every possible regard shall be shewn to them, and their zeal and good behaviour deserves it." One would think the troops had been employed in suppressing *another rebellion of the Scots*, in favour of the House of STUART; instead of killing five or six English subjects, lovers of King George, unarmed, and assembled—supposing it imprudently—either in favour of Liberty, or out of mere curiosity; and who, if they had not been irritated by such an armed force, *contrary to the constitution*, would have given no disturbance. But I have not done yet with the letter. The troops are further to be assured, that "in case any disagreeable circumstance should happen in the execution of their duty, they shall have every defence and protection that the law can authorise, and this office [the W-r office] can give." Indeed, my Lord, shall they so? Neither you, as Secretary, nor your office, nor the troops, are part of this constitution; your office, and they,

are

are voted from year to year; and if this use is to be made of our troops, both against the letter and the spirit of the constitution, it is high time they were discontinued, and voted *dangerous to the subject, and destructive to our liberties*. But of so little value are the *lives*, as well as the liberties of the subject, in the eyes of this noble Lord, that the killing or wounding them by the troops, hath no other epithet bestowed upon it, than a "*disagreeable circumstance*." It is, indeed, a circumstance so very disagreeable to the people of England, that his Lordship would do well, instead of "mentioning to the — the behaviour of the foot-guards," to mention to — the *dissatisfaction* that this behaviour hath created in the minds of the *best subjects*, (which is much the greater, because — approbation is thus publicly avowed) and that if the same behaviour on the same occasion is continued, every good man will dread the consequences.

It may be some kindness to the troops to undeceive them in the assurances which the Secretary — hath given them. A man who hath gone through so many employments and been so many years in parliament, one would think, must know, that the laws does not authorise any defence or protection of the troops that are employed in suppressing riots, the very employing them in such a service being against the law. Did his Lordship mean then, that the dispensers of the law should *pervert and abuse* it for their defence; and however strictly the forms of law were observed against the assertors of Liberty, yet against the oppressors of Liberty, by force and arms, by bloodshed and murder, the forms should be relaxed; and where they could not be dispensed with, the offences should be pardoned? Did his Lordship mean so? Why then, I would say, in our military terms of command, ENGLISHMEN, "*Have a care*."

I have for some years foreseen, and foretold the public, that this nation is hastening a-pace to its dissolution. Every circumstance that hath contributed to such an event, are all combined against us. There is no need to recapitulate them; they are well enough known to all thinking people, and who are capable of learning from past events recorded in history. If therefore our ministers and counsellors of — had any public spirit, capacity, or integrity, instead of daring us to do our worst, as they seem to do, by the most tyrannical abuse of power against the laws and constitution, they would endeavour to conciliate the distracted minds of the people, to unite the several parties into which favouritism has divided us, that all our great men may co-operate in retrieving

de of trieving the public peace and prosperity. If I was not convinced that Religion had entirely lost its hold upon their minds—an alarming symptom of our declension!—I would recommend a day of fasting and humiliation to implore the Divine Mercy in averting those national judgments which too visibly hang over our heads, and which we have but too justly and too manifestly deserved.

But to talk to our great men of Religion and Publick Spirit, and to our present M——s (such as are, strictly speaking, so called) of capacity and integrity, is talking to them all in an unknown language.

On Saturday the 17th of May the writ of error brought by Mr. Wilkes's counsel against the outlawry was argued before the court of King's-Bench by Mr. Serjeant Glyn on the behalf of Mr. Wilkes, and Mr. Thurloe for the King. When the court thought proper to delay giving their opinions until the next term.

On Tuesday the 10th, of May the parliament met. His Majesty not chusing to go to the house, the session was opened by commission. The commons chose Sir John Cust, bart. for their speaker, and next day he was presented and approved by the lords commissioners; the lord chancellor then made the following speech.

“ My Lords, and gentlemen,

“ In pursuance of the authority given us by his Majesty's Commission under the Great Seal, amongst other things, to declare the causes of your present meeting, We are, by the King's command, to acquaint you, that his Majesty has not called you together at this unusual season of the year, in order to lay before you any matters of general business, but merely to give you an opportunity of dispatching certain Parliamentary proceedings, which his Majesty's desire of providing, at all events, for the welfare and security of his good subjects, makes him wish to see completed as soon as possible, and with that dispatch which the public convenience as well as your own require.”

“ His Majesty, at the same time, has commanded Us to assure you of His perfect confidence in this Parliament; and that He has the strongest reason to expect every thing from their advice and assistance, that loyalty, wisdom, and zeal for the public good, can dictate or suggest.”

The following is the address of the Lords and Commons presented to the King on the 13th.

“ Most Gracious Sovereign,

“ We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliam-
ment

ment assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most hearty thanks for that gracious and paternal attention to the welfare of your people; which has induced your Majesty, at this time, to interpose your own more immediate authority for putting an end to that dangerous disturbance of the public peace, those outrageous acts of violence to the prosperity of your Majesty's subjects, and that most audacious defiance of the authority of the civil magistrates, which have of late prevailed to so alarming a degree in and near this great metropolis.

Your Majesty's express command, signified by your royal proclamation, that all the laws, for preventing, suppressing, and punishing, all riots, tumults, and unlawful assemblies, be put into immediate execution, will, we hope, effectually prevent the continuance or repetition of these disorders.

But should any of your Majesty's subjects continue so lost to all sense of their own true interest, as well as duty, as to go on to interrupt, by their lawless and desperate practices, that quiet and peaceable enjoyment of every right and privilege allotted to each individual among us by our excellent constitution, which it has ever been your Majesty's first object and chief glory to secure and perpetuate to us all; permit us, your Majesty's truly dutiful and grateful subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to assure your Majesty of our ready concurrence in every measure that may contribute to enable your Majesty most effectually to maintain the public authority, and carry the laws into due execution; and of our determined resolution, most cheerfully and vigorously to support your Majesty against every attempt to create difficulty or disturbance to your Majesty's government.

Ashley Cowper, Cler. Parliamentor.

His Majesty's answer.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I receive with great satisfaction this loyal, dutiful, and seasonable address of both Houses of Parliament. It is with the utmost concern, that I see this spirit of outrage and violence prevailing among different classes of my subjects. I am however convinced, that the vigorous exertion of lawful authority, which I will continue to enforce, joined to your support and assistance, will have the desired effect of restoring quiet and good order among my subjects."

The following is an exact copy of a letter from the electors of Aylesbury to each of their representatives.

S I R,

FULLY persuaded that the clemency of the best of princes will, if necessary, be at length exerted in favour of Mr. Wilkes, we hope, that, should an attempt be made to deprive

deprive him of his seat in Parliament, you will, from your connection with us, who are sincere in our friendship for him, prefer lenity; and, from your regard to the public, justice to his constituents, before rigour and severity; and use your utmost endeavours to prevent the success of such a measure. We are, Sir,

Aylesbury, April 30, Your most humble servants,

Edward Terry,
William Hickman,
John Dell,
Dev. Dagnall, jun.
Richard Terry,
John Smith,
Joseph Grimes,
Thomas Kirby,
John Perkins,
John Brett,
Daniel Lathwell,
John Turvey,
Francis Howse,
Henry Russell,
John Preston,
Robert Neale,
John Burnham,

John Stephens,
William Pugh,
Benjamin Bates,
John Plomer,
Rod. Hobbes,
Thomas Hill,
John Hill,
William Brooke,
John Russell,
Thomas Smith,
E. Price,
John Woodcock,
H. Stone,
Robert Patten,
Robert Jemmet,
Francis Neale,
Hen. Sherife.

Directed to John Durand, Esq; and the same to Anthony Bacon, Esq;

From the St. James's Chronicle.

IN a Paper of Monday Mr. C. C. assures us on the word of a GENTLEMAN.—We know not who Mr. C. C. is; but he may perhaps have a very good right to assume that title; he may perhaps be my L. B.'s own GENTLEMAN, or some other *Gentleman's Gentleman*: whoever he is, he assures us that it is an eternal truth that L. B. concerns himself with nothing but the private affairs of his own family.

We believe him most sincerely: but of this we complain, that what should be public affairs are become his private affairs. All the changes of administration for these seven years past, so unprecedented and astonishing, have too much reference to his own private affairs. The prostitution of public honours, titles, &c. &c. to his own family and creatures, is certainly his own private affair. The ——— committed on the Duke of Portland, in favour of L. B.'s son-in-law, is his own private affair. The return of that Son-in-law for the C. of C. is again his own private affair. The persecution of Mr. Wilkes, the whole public knows to be his L.—'s own private affair. The massacre
on

on Tuesday last, in St. George's-Field's, is as certainly his own private affair; for no man can tell me why the magistrates and soldiers came down to that place on Tuesday, but because of a certain *Boot* and *Petticoat* gibbeted there the evening before; and yet we must in justice to him own, that this *Boot* and *Petticoat* have long been no private affair. The inglorious peace was his own private affair, and will we hope, be one cause of his own public punishment. The treasure, the power, the peace, and the liberties of this nation, are all but too closely connected with, and dependant upon, his own private affairs. But how long the dignity, the honour, and the rights of the English will be suffered to be his private affair, more than we or this *Gentleman* can tell. However, we hope, the period is not distant, when a severe public scrutiny will be had into the conduct of this man, who makes no scruple to sacrifice the ancient nobility of this kingdom, the honour and independancy of——, and the very being of the State, to his own private Affairs. The PUBLIC.

To the SCOTCHMAN.

Egregiam vero laudem et spolia amplia refertis

Tuque tuusque puer!

SEDITIOUS libel! in that lawless found,
 Rebellion! bawdy! blasphemy! are found!
 If every word in every line be true,
 Outlawry! prison! pillory! are due;
 Especially if Murphy should depose,
 From whom, and from whose pay, court-libels rose.
 Conscience and noble-minded candour praise
 The gen'rous justice of these patriot days.
 Bring red-hot pincers, torture, purging fire,
 Bring all that Scottish vengeance can inspire;
 Bring guards, light-horse, the king's whole army bring,
 To avenge the sacred Minion of a King.
 Yet monstrous heaps of this seditious trade
 Were on the tables of both Houses laid,
 When the three branches of our sovereign power,
 Bow'd to sedition in a factious hour;
 And left unvindicated England's cause,
 The honour of her crown and of her laws.
 Seditious libels which affect the throne,
 Should meet with punishment in Wilkes alone.
 America contemptuous smiles disdain,
 Loud laughter shakes his sides thro' France and Spain,
 Ierne struts despising English fools,
 Dick Cromwell's days we see, tho' STUART rules.

London Evening.

HARRY

HARRY and NANCY.

An ELEGY, in the Manner of TIBULLUS.

I.

CAN Apollo resist, or a Poet refuse,
 When Harry and Nancy solicit the Muse;
 A Statesman, who makes the whole nation his care,
 And a Nymph, who is almost as chaste as she's fair.

II.

Dear spousy had led such a damnable life,
 He determin'd to keep any whore but his wife:
 So Harry's affairs, like those of the State,
 Have been pretty well handled and tickled of late.

III.

From fourteen to forty our provident Nan
 Had devoted her life to the study of man,
 And thought it a natural change of her station,
 From riding St. George, to ride over a nation.

IV.

Secret service had wasted the national wealth,
 But now ---- 'tis the price of the Minister's health:
 An expence which the Treasury well may afford;
 She who serves him in bed, should be paid at the board.

V.

So lucky was Harry, that nothing could mend
 His choice of a mistress but that of a friend;
 A friend so obliging, and yet so sincere,
 With pleasure in one eye, in t'other a tear.

VI.

My friend holds the candle—the lovers debate,
 And among them, God knows how they settle the State;
 Was there ever a nation so govern'd before,
 By a Jockey and Gambler,---a P---p and a Wh-----?

A proper Conclusion: extracted from a Book entitled;
The Use and Abuse of Parliaments.

“WE have proof to demonstration, that our parliaments
 have done what they should have left undone, and
 have left undone what they should have done: that to the
 calls of the crown they have always answered; that to the
 K k k cries

cries of the people they have been always deaf; that they have purchased on one hand, only to sell on the other; that they have waved their privileges in compliment to the prerogative, and put them to the stretch to oppress and subdue the subject; that instead of redressing grievances, they have authorized them; that instead of prosecuting malefactors, they have screened them. And, that, instead of protecting and defending the rights of their constituents, they have perfidiously betrayed them.

Hence it is manifest, that the constitution is every where undermined; and at the first sound of the trumpet, like the walls of Jericho, it will sink at once into a heap of ruins.

In vain do we amuse ourselves with the hope, that some future parliament will rectify the evils committed, or contrived at, by the passed.

Experience shews us, that the writ of election to a borough, and the conge d'elire to a dean and chapter, already operate in pretty much the same manner: that those in power are always sure of finding, or making, a majority in both houses. That the dictates of the privy council, or first minister, are uniformly received by that majority, as laws.

That the grand secret of government is to fleece with one hand, and corrupt with the other; and the sole relic of the *people's power* is the glorious privilege to sell themselves as often as they are favoured with leave to make a new election.

So fatally true is the maxim of that great statesman, Burleigh, "That England could never be undone but by a parliament."

In a word, so great is the influence of the crown become, so servile the spirit of our grandees, and so depraved the hearts of the people, that hope itself begins to sicken; and those who are disposed to go farthest in the cause of the commonwealth, are on the point of crying out,

If the people will be enslav'd, let them be enslav'd!

Let it then be recollected, in this our day, that even the authority of parliaments has a bound: that they are not empowered to *sell*, but to *serve* their constituents: that whoever accepts of a trust is answerable for the exercise of it: that if the house of commons should make ever so solemn a surrender of the public liberties into any hand whatsoever, that surrender would be *ipso facto* void: that if the people have reason to apprehend any such conspiracy against them, they have a right not only to put in their protest, but to renounce the deed, and to refuse obedience."

I N D E X

T O T H E

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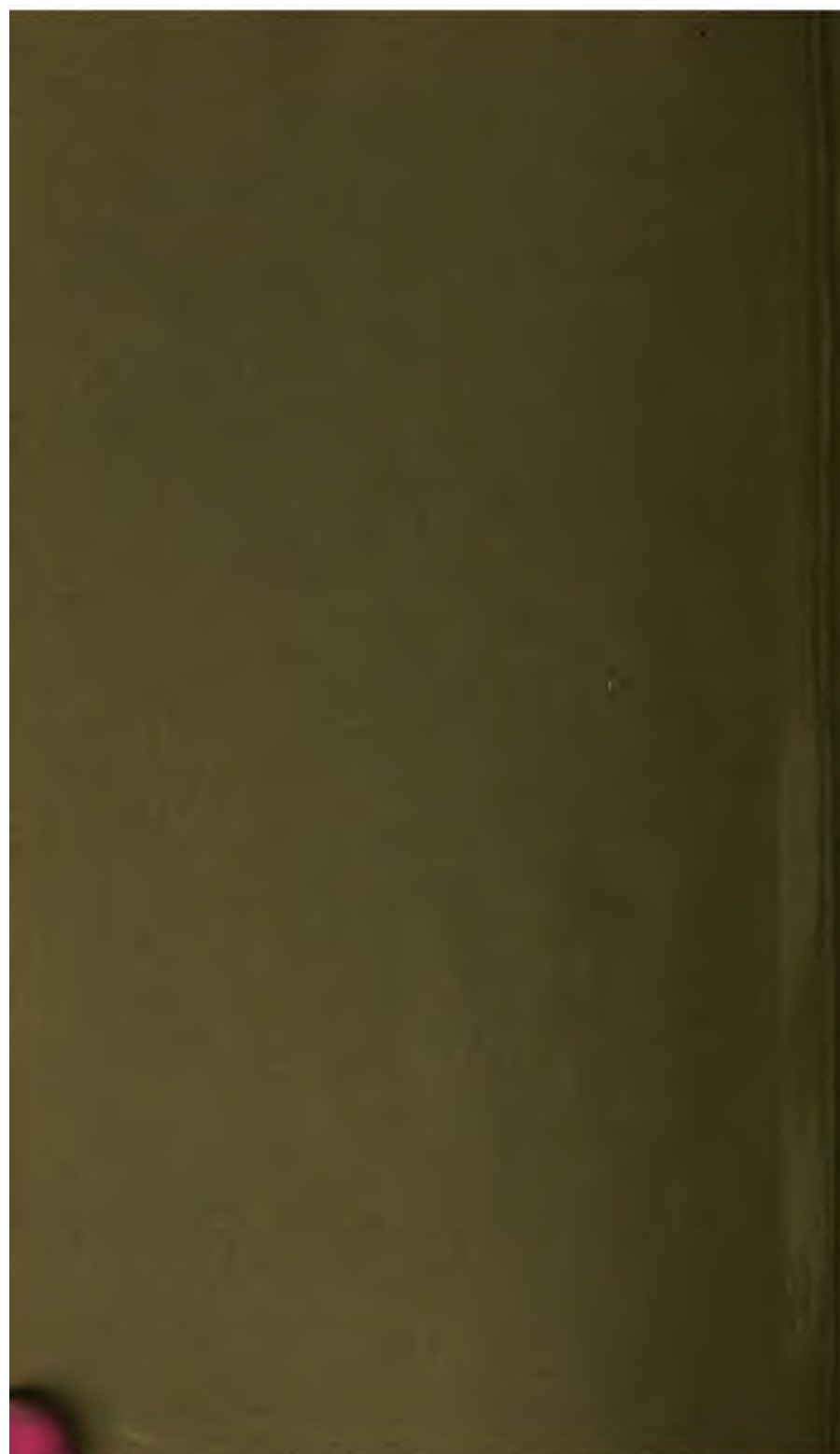
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